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A Style-based Approach to Translating Literary Texts from Arabic into English

Ali Almanna,
(Jubail Industrial College, Saudi Arabia)

■ ABSTRACT ■

In this paper, a style-based approach to translating literary texts is introduced and used. The aim of the study is to work out a stylistic approach to translating literary texts from Arabic into English. The approach proposed in the current study is a combination of four major stylistic approaches, namely linguistic stylistics, literary stylistics, affective stylistics and cognitive stylistics. It has been shown from data analysis that by adopting a style-based approach that can draw from the four stylistic approaches, translators, as special text readers, can easily derive a better understanding and appreciation of texts, in particular literary texts. Further, it has been shown that stylistics as an approach is objective in terms of drawing evidence from the text to support the argument for the important stylistic features and their functions. However, it loses some of its objectivity and becomes dependent and subjective.

Key Words

Translation, Cognitive Stylistics, Linguistic Stylistics, Literary Stylistics, Affective Stylistics

1. Introduction

Many attempts in the field of Translation Studies have been made to touch on the style for some time now (see for example Nida 1964; Lotman 1970; Venuti 2000; Ghazala 1996; Bassnett 2002; for more details see Ghazala 2011; Huang 2011). However, formulating a rigorous definition of what style exactly is remains ambiguous in nature, and the investigation is still unsystematic. In this regard, Boase-Beier (2006: 1), comments: “From the earliest writings about translation, such as those of Cicero or Horace, style has often been mentioned but [...] its role has rarely been systematically explored. Yet style is central to the way we construct and interpret texts”. Snell-Hornby (1995: 119) holds that any attempt to discuss style will be considered unsatisfactory, since first “no coherent theoretical approach is attempted” and second “the problem of style recedes perceptibly into the background”. Style (derived from the Latin word *stylus* meaning stake or pointed instrument for writing), obviously, is the object of study for stylistics. But what does stylistics mean? In order to be in a position to define stylistics, one needs to define style first as any definition of one concept would depend on a definition of the other. Building on an assumption that within any language system (phonetics, graphology, semantics, grammar (morphology and syntax) and pragmatics), the same proposition can be encoded in various linguistic forms, i.e. styles, one can derive a better understanding of style. To put this differently, the same idea can be communicated in more than one way, thereby presenting a variability at the level of, let us say, intonation, type of writing, word and/or expression choice, morphological and syntactic organization, and illocutionary force of an utterance. Style is defined by Leech and Short (1981: 10-11) as “the linguistic habits of a particular writer [...], genre, period, school”. Style is seen by other stylisticians as “the dress of thought” (Hough, 1969: 3). Formalists, however, define style as “a deviation from language norms. It is also claimed to be an expression and reflection of the

personality of the author, hence the adage 'style is man', by particularly generative stylisticians and the intentionalists” (Ghazala, 2011: 40). Laying more emphasis on the linguistic approach of style, Abrams (1993: 203; emphasis his) defines style as “the manner of linguistic expression in prose or verse – it is *how* speakers or writers say whatever it is that they say”. Building on these different schools of thought in defining style, Ghazala (2011: 41) defines style as a linguistic choice made by a particular author within the resources and limitations of language/grammar, i.e. within “the total options available in the syntactic, semantic, phonological and pragmatic systems”. In a direct link to translation, Nida and Taber (1969) in their definition of style touch on the patterning of choices as well as the generic constraints that play crucial roles in determining the author’s style. However, style in this study is seen as any deviation that occurs within any language system (phonetics, graphology, semantics, grammar (morphology and syntax) and pragmatics), thereby creating marked and unexpected combination of sounds, graphics of writing, meanings, patterns of structures and so on. Such deviation does not happen randomly, but rather is driven by a deliberate and conscious selection made by the original writer. As such, the focus of attention in this study is shifted towards the two views of style: style as deviation and style as choice and less attention is paid to the other two views: style as recurrence and style as comparison. Any stylistic feature is a linguistic feature in the first place, but characterized by markedness and significance (Ghazala 2011: 41) – such features place extra burden on the part of translators and require them to use their utmost effort to reflect such stylistic peculiarities in the TT (cf. Boarse-Berse 2006; Ghazala 2011; Huang 2011; Bragina 2012; Almann 2013). However, difficulty arises when the TL syntactic, semantic, phonological and pragmatic system rejects the accommodation of such features. Reading the text at hand with a view to analyzing and appreciating its salient stylistic features, such as parallelism, repetition, irony, long sentences vs. short sentences, foregrounding vs. backgrounding,

formality vs. Informality, nominalisation vs. verbalisation, passivisation vs. activisation and so on (see Ghazala 1996, 2011), the translators' progress automatically slows down in an attempt to adopt the most appropriate local strategy that would reflect such characteristics in the TT. In other words, another type of pressure imposed on the translator derives this time from the stylistic peculiarities appreciated by the translator while analyzing the text at hand. Having formed a clear picture on what style exactly means, now let us shift our focus of attention towards the other concept, i.e. stylistics. In its straightforward meaning, stylistics is the study of style. Having consulted and discussed a number of definitions on stylistics (for example Widdowson 1975; Leech and Short 1981; Carter 1982; Brumfit and Carter 1986; Fabb *et al* 1987; Short 1988; Toolan 1992, 1998; Verdonk and Webber 1995; Wright and Hope 1996; Simpson 2004; Boase-Beier 2006), Ghazala (2011: 18) concludes the following points about stylistics:

1. It is a branch of linguistics;
2. It is a language-based approach;
3. Its major concentration is on the analysis of literary texts of all genres and classes, whether canonical or non-canonical; however, it is an approach that can be applied to the analysis of other text types;
4. It is a combination of linguistic/structural patterns (i.e. stylistic features) and the implied meanings (or functions) produced by them;
5. It involves all types of stylistic choices at the different levels of language: lexical, grammatical and phonological in particular.

The ultimate objective of this paper is to work out a stylistic approach to translating literary texts from Arabic into English. Having formulated a clear picture on what style and stylistics exactly mean, in what follows, I will touch on the major stylistic approaches with a view to introducing the proposed stylistic approach to translating literary texts from Arabic to English. Prior to verifying the validity of the proposed approach

empirically, I will provide the reader with a brief introduction on the research corpus and methodology used in the current study. Then, conclusions will be drawn from data analysis.

2. Major Stylistic Approaches

In this study, stylistics is envisaged as an approach which enables us to 1) analyze and describe varieties of language (linguistic stylistics), 2) identify and discern all important aesthetical aspects of text and thus interpret and appreciate texts (literary stylistics), 3) activate processes and experiences of reading along with the our intuitive responses to the text at hand (affective stylistics) 4) and activate the knowledge stored in our mind on all aspects of language, text-typological demands, generic conventions, sociological roles of participants in the real world and in text, cultural environment and so on (cognitive stylistics). So, it is a combination of four stylistic approaches, namely linguistic stylistics, literary stylistics, affective stylistics and cognitive stylistics.

To begin with, linguistic stylistics (also known syntactic stylistics (Austin 1984), structural/structuralist stylistics (Taylor 1980) and textualist stylistics (Bradford 1997)) provides the reader with a general description of the text, in particular literary texts, rather than providing the reader with an interpretation or appreciation of texts. To put this differently, although linguistic stylistics is a useful tool at analyzing and describing varieties of language, it fails at the level of discerning all important aesthetical aspects of texts and thus interpretation and appreciation of texts. It provides us with an answer to “the 'what' question satisfyingly, but can hardly provide satisfying answers to the two more important questions about language and texts: 'how' and 'why'” (cf. Ghazala 2011: 18-19). However, it fails to provide us with a satisfactory answer to *how* they are used (i.e. how often,

how effective, how contrastive and the like) and *why* they are used (i.e. to what effect, for what function, and to what extent they affect the intended message). Literary stylistics (also known practical stylistics (Carter 1982) or Functional Stylistics (derived from Halliday's functional Linguistics 1964), however, focuses on the study of literary style by adopting a linguistic perspective. It aims at investigating the presentation and organization of certain linguistic elements with a view to discerning intuitively significant stylistic features and their functions, and how these features contribute to our interpretation and appreciation of texts (cf. Ghazala 2011: 19-20; Huang 2011: 56-59). In other words, literary stylistics helps the readers/analysts (in our case translators/critics) identify the relation between certain linguistic elements utilized by the original writer and their artistic functions. The ultimate objective of literary stylistics is to relate the analyst's concern of aesthetic appreciation with his/her concern of linguistic description (Leech and Short 1981: 13). As can be seen, literary stylistics is different from linguistic stylistics in the sense that the former has interpretation and appreciation of texts as its ultimate objective, while the latter has analysis and description of language variations as its focal concern. Affective stylistics, however, is a reader-centred or reader-response stylistics "originated in Bathes' 'The Death of the Author' (1968), Barthes' S/Z (1970) and the American New Criticism's 'The Verbal Icon' (Wimsatt and Beardsley, 1954) who regarded the authorial intention a fallacy and, instead, centred on the text as a verbal icon and the reader who perceives and reconstructs it" (Ghazala 2011: 20-21). Affective stylistics attempts to focus on the readers' (translators in our case) processes of reading and how they activate not only bottom-up process of reading by using the linguistic materials to form a clear picture on the whole text and top-down process of reading by using the picture conjured up in their minds to understand particular linguistic materials (cf. Kussmaul 1995: 28), but other intellectual activities, such as reflecting, judging and adopting special strategies to facilitate comprehension. Some

scholars (see for example Boase-Beier, 2006; Ghazala, 2011) hold that relying on the readers' processes of reading and how to activate other intellectual activates are not enough for them to be in a position to analyze, appreciate and relate the stylistic features to their artistic function; hence the emergence of another stylistic approach, i.e. cognitive stylistics. Boase-Beier (2006: 10) relates cognitive stylistics to the concept of context; she sees context as cognitive entity that encompasses all aspects of knowledge stored in their mind on language, text-typological demands, generic conventions, sociological roles of participants in the real world and in text, cultural environment and so on and relies on "the interplay of the individual, the cultural and the universal" (Semino, 1997 cited in Boase-Beier, *ibid*: 73). In this regard, Ghazala (2011: 29), echoing Boase-Beier (2006: 12), comments:

Indeed, cognitive stylistics makes it possible to integrate mental, sociological, historical and psychological aspects with pragmatic aspects of language and style. Thus, it views meaning not as autonomous from thought but as constructed by human minds. It has brought together the pragmatic concern with a concern for context as a cognitive construct.

These four stylistic approaches do not exclude one another, but rather they complement one another. This is because text analysts (in our case translators) heavily relies on 1) their analytical and evaluative competence as well as their reading experiences and processes in order to identify the linguistic features that are acquired special status in the text and relate these linguistic peculiarities to their artistic function by analyzing their micro- and macro context, and 2) on their intuitive response to the text by activating their knowledge on all aspects of language and human life. This entails that although stylistics as an approach is objective in terms of drawing evidence from the text to support the argument for the important stylistic features and their functions, it loses some of its appeal of

objectivity and becomes dependent and subjective. This is because people (be they readers, analysts, translators or critics) are different in terms of their set of skills and competences, their socio-cultural backgrounds, their political and religious commitments, their ideologies, their pieces of information stored in their mind, their intuitive response and literary appreciation and so on.

By adopting a style-based approach that can draw from the four stylistic approaches discussed above translators, as special text readers, can easily derive a better understanding and appreciation of texts, in particular literary texts. Stylistics not only attempts to understand the linguistic foundations of the style in texts, in terms of the manner of expression or technique or craft of writing, but also lays emphasis on the language function of texts, in particular literary texts (cf. Toolan 1998: ix; Huang 2011: 59). Stylistics therefore seriously tries to “put the discussion of textual effects and techniques on a public, shared, footing – a footing as shared and established and inspectable as is available to informed language-users” (Toolan, 1998: ix). It provides us with a linguistic perspective to comprehend and appreciate the linguistic features that the original writers deliberately and consciously try to resort to despite the availability of the other alternative options. This attunes well with Boase-Beier’s (2006: 1) view:

Firstly, in the actual process of translation, the way the style of the source text is viewed will affect the translator’s reading of the text. Secondly, because the recreative process in the target text will also be influenced by the sorts of choices the translator makes, and style is the outcome of choice (as opposed to those aspects of language which are not open to option), the translator’s own style will become part of the target text. And, thirdly, the sense of what style is will affect not only what the translator does but how the critic of translation interprets what the translator has done.

3. Research corpus and methodology

The research corpus consists of an original Arabic text and its English translation. The ST غرام السيدة (ع) *Gharām al-Sayyidah 'Aīn 'The Passion of Lady A'* was written by Karīm 'Abid. 'Abid is an Iraqi storyteller who has written several books of poetry and collections of short stories. He lived in Lebanon until 1982 when he moved to Syria and published many pieces of fiction as well as articles for various local newspapers. He has been living in London since 1995. The story used in the current study was published in 1993 in a collection of short stories under the title عزف عود بغدادي *'Azif 'ūd Baghdādī 'Plucking a Baghdadi Lute'*. The text was translated by Eric Winkel. Winkel is an American translator received his BA from Haverford College, MA from the University of Pennsylvania and Ph.D in Government and International Studies from the University of South Carolina. He has taught in universities in Malaysia, Pakistan and the USA. Due to space and time limitations on the one hand, and since the same method of application will be followed throughout on the other, it is impractical to present and analyze the original text in full due to its length. Therefore, the researcher has settled for excerpts taken from the beginning and middle of the text.

About the story:

The story itself is set in scenes, taking its theme and details from realistic situations with the aim of influencing the reader who is part of, and indeed victim of, society and its malevolent constraints. The story is not a romantic one, as the title may suggest. It describes the suffering of an unnamed woman living in a conservative society. She represents the women in her society who suffer badly from the restrictions imposed on them, depriving them of their basic rights, such as love. Society tells them what to do and what not to do, irrespective of their opinion and attitude. None of the characters presented undergo any change or development

throughout the story. The writer portrays the main character, Lady A, as a complicated person who does not know exactly what she wants and is caught up in a train of thought and feelings that she cannot understand. She has been waiting for a different man to pass by, to follow her, or at times to be her teacher in class, but not a bewildered, hesitant man. However, sometimes her desire to watch people falling in love with her is stronger than her desire to be in love with them. As a typical woman of a conservative society, she is paralyzed by fear and worries, similar to those of her father, that cross her mind from time to time for reasons she does not understand. The main function of the language is referential, with the use of the occasional flash-back mechanism. However, the original writer pays particular attention to the selection of the language and stylistic elements, thereby injecting his language with a poetic flavour that needs special treatment by the translator.

Methodology:

In analyzing the translation in this study, I started with a loose analysis of the text, i.e. paying no attention to pre-determined categorisation. Such a comparison of the ST and the TT, according to Bassnett and Lefevere (1998: 6), has three advantages: 1. it “can [...] give the researcher something like a synchronic snapshot of many features of a given culture at a given time”, 2. it “will [...] reveal the constraints under which translators have to work at a certain time and in a certain place” and 3. it will determine “the strategies they develop to overcome, or at least work around, those constraints”. Then, the findings of the first phase of the analysis were analyzed according to the style-based approach proposed in this study in an attempt to determine, appreciate and relate the linguistic peculiarities identified to their artistic functions on the one hand, and try to reflect such stylistic features in the TT in line with linguistic and stylistic norms of the TL on the other. It is worth noting that in the second phase of analysis, in addition to analyze and describe varieties of language, determine and

discern all important aesthetical aspects and activate processes and experiences of reading, an attempt is made to activate all aspects of knowledge on human life, language, text-typological demands, generic conventions, sociological roles of participants in the real world and in text, cultural environment and so on. To sum up, in analyzing the original text and comparing it with its translation, a general method for comparative analysis that begins with a loose analysis of the linguistic material and then proceeds to classify similar concepts in categories for further analysis is used. Further, to make the task of analysis easier and enable the reader to follow the thread of argumentation more easily, the ST along with its rendering is divided into smaller parts containing a sentence, or a group of related sentences, reflecting a complete idea (see the appendix). Then, each example along with its translation is followed by my comments based on adopting a style-based approach where not only the stylistic features identified are evaluated, but all aspects of knowledge on language, such as grammar, consistency, register, verb aspects, pragmatic problems, textual problems and cultural problems so on.

4. Discussion

To demonstrate the impact of (not) adopting a style-based approach to analyzing and appreciating the stylistic features of the text at hand and relating these features to their artistic functions, let us discuss the following examples to see whether the translator has managed to reflect the stylistic features utilized by the original writer or not:

Example [1]:

في شقتها الفخمة الهادئة، عندما كانت السيدة (ع) تتوقع مروره، شعرت بأن الشرفة على
 وشك أن تنهد بها وتنهمر على أشجار الرصيف المجاور، لكنها تماسكت على الكرسي.

In her grand, stately apartment, while Lady A was waiting for her passer-by, it seemed to her that the balcony was going to collapse and rain down on the trees lining the neighborhood sidewalk. But she pulled herself together in the chair.

Comments:

Here, the translator has mistakenly changed the content of the message when opting for the deletion of the adjective هادئة 'quiet', and instead resorted to two adjectives which are synonyms, or near synonyms, viz. 'grand' and 'stately', but have different meanings from the original adjective هادئة. As for تتوقع مروره 'lit. she's expecting his passing by', it is presented in the original text vaguely in an attempt to invoke the readers and leave them to wonder about 'him'. However, in the translation, the translator has failed to reflect such a characteristic. It would be better to say: 'expecting him to pass by', instead of the version offered by him: 'Lady A was waiting for her passer-by'.

Example [2]:

في خريف قديم عندما كانت هي وأختها بفستانين أخضرين فاتحين تتمشيان على الرصيف الطويل كعادتهما المسائية، لم تكن الأنسة (ع) وهي تُكَلِّم أختها عن أيامها الأولى في الجامعة، بأن رجلاً ما كان في سيارة تكسي عابرة دفعه حظه العائر أن يلتفت فيراهما حيث انخطفت روحه بذلك المساء الأخضر الملائكي، فطلب من سائق التوكسي أن يتوقف ..

Last fall, when she and her sister were wearing green dresses, they started their walk along the long lane, as was their custom evenings. The young lady A and she, while talking about her sister's first days at the university, were unaware of some man in a passing taxi driving away, unfortunately, turning back to see the two of them, snatching away his soul on that evening, like two green angels. He asked the taxi driver to stop.

Comments:

Here, an example of minor omission can be traced in the translation of the above example where the translator has unjustifiably deleted the adjective فاتح 'light'. Further, the translator has failed to decipher the function of the use of the Arabic pronoun هي 'she' in ... وهي تُكَلِّمُ, and mistranslated it, thereby producing an awkward structure as if there were two characters. Further, it seems that the translator has failed to activate the experiences and processes of reading to understand the original text and, accordingly, translate it accurately — in the original text, she was talking about her first days at the university, not her sister's first days. In this regard, Kussmaul (1995: 28) holds that an inaccurate translation is often the result of an imbalance between bottom-up and top-down processes of reading.

Example [3]:

نزل الرجل من دون أن يعرف عواقب هذه النزوة، ففكر لو أن هذه الأمسية الخضراء لا تنتهي، لو أنه ظل هكذا مغموراً بهذه المفاجأة الملائكية، اللحظة التي لا مثيل لها، شعر بأنه أصبح شفافاً وخفيفاً كأنه موجود وغير موجود ..

The man got down, not knowing what the consequences of his sudden impulse would be. He thought, if this green evening would not end! If he could stay like this undetected by these unexpected angels! in this moment unlike any other. He was sure he would awake feathery and light, as if he was here, or not here.

Comments:

Here, in the above extract there is a combination of both misuse and inconsistency in the use of punctuation marks — the exclamation mark is followed by a capital letter 'If' in the first occurrence, but, later, it is followed by a small letter 'in'. Further, there is no need for a comma after the introductory verb 'thought' as long as the translator resorted to indirect speech. Also, the whole expression 'He thought if...' simply is not a well-

formed structure in English, and needs radically recasting. Further, there is also a minor grammatical mistake in the use of the adverb of place 'here' in the reported speech whose introductory verb is in the past tense 'was'. In such a case, the adverb of place 'here' should be changed into 'there' as in 'there, or not there'. However, from a stylistic point of view, an example of deviation in *المفاجئة الملائكية* بهذه *مغمورا* لو أنه ظل هكذا *لو if he had remained caught up in such an angelic (or great) surprise* can be identified here. The translator has mistakenly translated it into *If he could stay like this undetected by these unexpected angels*, conjuring up a different image in the mind of the target reader. As far as the original language function is concerned, it is poetic in so far as it focuses on the message and the selection of the language and stylistic elements (cf. Burton 1980: 175). However, the language in the TT loses most of its stylistic elements, thus affecting its poetic function.

Example [4]:

ظَلْتُ الفتاتان الملائكيتان تسيران أمامه من دون أن يرى وجهيهما، كانتا عابيتين ورشيقتين ومثيرتين لكن لم يكن هذا قصده، كان في حالة من لذة غريبة لم يكن يفهم كنهها.

The two lady angels kept walking in front of him, without him being able to see their faces. They were graceful, stimulating, but this was not his aim. He was in a strange pleasure he couldn't grasp completely.

Comments:

In the above example, the suffix repetition that leads to the assonance in *عابيتين ورشيقتين* and *مثيرتين* and the assonance in *الفتاتان* and *الملائكيتان* is lost in the TT. In this regard, Al-Rubai'i (1996: 111) rightly comments that it is not an easy task to reflect "schemes of construction which depend up similarity of sound" in the TT. As for the combination of both assonance and alliteration in *كان في حالة من لذة غريبة لم يكن يفهم كنهها*, the translator has utilized the sound '—

s' in his rendering '*but this was not his aim*' as compensation for the lost assonance. However, had he done the same with *لم يكن يفهم كنهها* he could have produced a translation such as '*he couldn't grasp its essence*' to make up for the assonance and alliteration.

Example [5]:

لم يكن يُريد التفكير بشيء محدد، فقد سحره المشهد ولكن حين استدارتا عائدتين تنفس الرجل الصعداء، وربما همهم بكلام لم يعد يتذكره.

He didn't want to think of anything in particular. The vision had intoxicated him. But when they turned around to go back, the man sighed deeply. He may have mumbled some words he couldn't recall later.

Comments:

Here, the translator has effectively managed to relay a comparable degree of emotiveness in the translation by employing the appropriate lexical items, such as 'intoxicated ... sighed deeply'. The only small stylistic mishap one could notice is the translator's use of the active rather the passive voice with a verb like 'intoxicate' as English tends to utilize the passive with this verb and other similar verbs like 'enchant' and 'captivate', which might well be employed in this context. Further, from a syntactic point of view, he has ably split the Arabic sentence into four English sentences, thus complying with the stylistic norms in the TT. In addition, he has succeeded in dealing with the lexical item *همهم* when opting for a verb reflecting a similar phonic effect, i.e. '*mumble*'. However, he has paid no attention to assonance in *كلام لم يعد يتذكره*. He could have resorted to '*... some words he couldn't call to mind any more*' to minimize the loss.

Example [6]:

لم يكن منتبهاً لحالته. الذي أربكه هو أن حضور (ع) بعلوها وملامح وجهها الغربية الجمال، شعرها الأسود واهتزاز وجودها وحركتها الفاتنة، ثم ضحكتها الهادئة وهي تُكَلِّم أختها الشقراء، كل ذلك كان يجب أن يدفعه للكلام معها لكن المشهد فاجأه خلخله بل ألغى وجوده وجعله لا شيء تقريباً ..

He wasn't aware of his condition. What muddled him was the lady's height, good looks, attractive face, and beauty, her enticing presence and seductive walk. Then she laughed quietly while chatting with her fair sister. All of that would have to push a man to talk with her, but seeing her suddenly disoriented him, shook off his being and made him almost disappear.

Comments:

Here, the translator has changed the relationship between the first sentence and the following one dramatically when opting for the connector 'then' in 'What muddled him was the lady's height, good looks, attractive face and beauty, her enticing presence and seductive walk. Then she laughed quietly while chatting with her fair sister'. First, the action of laughing was excluded from what muddled him, and second, the sequence of the events was changed. He could have used the connector 'as well as' as in 'as well as her quiet laughter while she was chatting with her blonde sister'. From a stylistic viewpoint, there is an example of climax, i.e. arranging words, phrases, clauses according to their increasing importance (cf. Corbett 1971: 476; Al-Rubai'i 1996: 86). Such a stylistic feature needs to be given full consideration by the translator, but unfortunately he has paid no attention to the arrangement of the clauses/sentences in an order of increasing importance. Further, climax is accompanied by a deliberate omission of some of the connectors, i.e. asyndeton فجاءه خلخله بل ألغى وجوده وجعله لا شيء تقريباً, as well as a lack of punctuation marks among these clauses/sentences. The omission of punctuation marks is on purpose; it is one of the rhetorical

devices employed by the writer to “hasten psychologically the pace of the experience depicted” (Shen 1987: 186). Had the translator taken such stylistic features into account, he could have produced a rendering such as *'But the sight surprised him ... rocked him ... rather obliterated his existence and made him almost nothing'*.

Example [7]:

عندما عادت الفتاتان إلى البيت لم تكن الأنسة (ع) تعرف ما حدث للرجل. كانت وهي تغيّر ثيابها وحيدة تفكر بطلبة قسم اللغة الفرنسية، فهي لم تجد فيهم من يثير إهتمامها على عكس ما كانت تتوقع قبيل دخول الجامعة.

The two ladies returned to the house. Miss A did not know what happened with the man. She changed her clothes and concentrated on thinking about the male students in the French Department. She hadn't found any of them who could rouse her interest, which was the opposite of how she felt before she went to the university.

Comments:

Here, in attempt to take into account the stylistic norms of the TL, the translator has opted to disconnect the action processes by using two separate sentences. As a result, the pace of events is slowed down. The original subordinate sentence ... لم تكن ... عندما عادت is re-presented as two independent sentences in the TT, thereby generating a feeling that there is probably a time gap between the two events. In a similar vein, the change in aspect from a continuous past tense, expressed by كانت وهي تغيّر in the ST, to a simple past tense in the TT, does produce a change in time reference, affecting the pragmatic communicative effect, in that the emphasis in the ST is on the continuity of the action in a specific period of time, whereas in the TT the emphasis is put on its completion. Further, opting for the connector 'and' to connect the two events, as in *'she changed her clothes and concentrated on ...'* does slow down their pace, thus generating a time gap between the two events.

Example [8]:

كانت في قرارة نفسها تنتظر أمراً ما، رجلاً مختلفاً، قالت مرات عديدة وهي في حمى
أنوثتها : لا بدَّ أن يظهر ذات يوم. لقد رَوَّضْتُ مشاعرها على هذا الانتظار الغامض،

She was convinced inside that she was waiting for something, a man who was different, she said many times. She guarded it in her womanhood, that definitely one day he would appear. She reined in her feelings with this hidden vigil.

Comments:

Here, apart from the misuse of punctuation marks in '*she guarded it in her womanhood, that ...*' as there is no need for a comma before *that*-clause and the clause itself that makes no obvious sense, the introductory clause 'lit. *she said many times*' has been re-distributed by the translator. In the original text, it is the main clause of the subordinate clause 'لا بدَّ أن يظهر ذات يوم' while in the TT it becomes the introductory clause of a different clause, i.e. 'كانت في قرارة نفسها تنتظر أمراً ما، رجلاً ما' *'she was convinced inside that she was waiting for something, a man who was different, she said many times'*. Re-arranging the semantic chunks in this way undoubtedly affects not only the meaning of the contents and mental image that might conjure up in the mind of the reader, but the style of the text itself. This is because within any language system (phonetics, graphology, semantics, grammar (morphology and syntax) and pragmatics), the same proposition can be encoded in various linguistic forms, i.e. styles.

Example [9]:

وفي غمرة هذه الهواجس، لم يكن يتنير البلبلة في داخلها سوى نصائح أبيها المقتضبة وقلقه الكبير الذي لا تُخفيه عيناه الملتبستان لأسبابٍ لم تستطع فهمها، ظلت تحاول دائماً أن تُفهمه أنها تحبُّه كما لا تحبُّ أحداً.

Caught up in these thoughts, no concerns crept into her, except for off the cuff lectures from her father, and the intricate worries he hid from her, which she could see in his eyes, stirred up from reasons she could not understand. She kept trying to make him see that she loved him as she loved no one else.

Comments:

In the translation of the first part of the above extract, the translator, to a certain degree, has effectively managed to offer an equivalent text that reflects the variables of register, the language function, the lexical choices and the verb aspects. However, in the translation of the second part, for no obvious reason, he has changed the participants of the material process in *لا تُخفيه عيناه الملتبستان* 'lit. *that his anxious eyes couldn't hide*' into '*he hid from her*' and paid no attention to the lexical repetition derived from the verb *فهم* 'lit. *to understand*'. Had he given full consideration to the original writer's intention and idiosyncrasies as well as the poetic function of the original language, he might have produced a rendering such as:

Caught up in a train of thought, no concerns crossed her mind apart from her father's few words of advice and his great worries that were reflected in his anxious eyes for reasons she couldn't understand. She had kept trying to make him understand that she loved him and she loved nobody else.

5. Conclusion

The discussion of the above examples along with their translations clearly shows the effects of the appreciation of stylistic features on translators. The moment translators identify and appreciate stylistic features, their progress will automatically slow down in an attempt to ponder over the available

strategies, on the one hand, and the amount of loss that may occur through the nexus of translation on the other.

In the light of the above discussion, the translation offered by the translator in the current study has proved in most of its parts neither accurate nor adequate. It suffers from a great number of linguistic and stylistic deficiencies that can be avoided by opting for the style-based approach proposed herein. This feat may be achieved only when translators can develop first an analytical and evaluating competence that enables them to analyze and appreciate the stylistic features, and second transferring competence that enables them to prioritize the competing elements with a minimum loss.

It has been shown from data analysis that the translator has failed to

1. identify and discern all important aesthetical aspects of text, thereby misinterpreting them (see examples: 1, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9);
2. activate processes and experiences of reading along with his intuitive responses to the text at hand (see examples: 2, 8 and 9); and
3. activate all aspects of knowledge stored in his mind on language, text-typological demands, generic conventions, sociological roles of participants in the real world and in text, cultural environment and so on (see examples: 6, 7, 8 and 9).

As such, one would not hesitate to conclude that translators can easily derive a better understanding and appreciation of texts, in particular literary texts when adopting a style-based approach that can draw from the four stylistic approaches, viz. linguistic stylistics, literary stylistics, affective stylistics and cognitive stylistics.

Further, it has been also shown that stylistics as an approach is objective in terms of drawing evidence from the text to support the argument for the important stylistic features and their functions. However, it loses some of its objectivity as people are different in terms of their socio-cultural

backgrounds, their political and cultural commitments, their ideologies, their skills and competences, their pieces of information stored in their mind, their intuitive response and literary appreciation and so on.

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Appendix: Arabic Source text and its rendering:

Source Text:(ع) غرام السيدة	Target text: <i>The Passion of Lady A</i>
In her grand, stately apartment, while Lady A was waiting for her passer-by, it seemed to her that the balcony was going to collapse and rain down on the trees lining the neighborhood sidewalk. But she pulled herself together in the chair.	في شقتها الفخمة الهادئة، عندما كانت السيدة (ع) تتوقع مروره، شعرت بأن الشرفة على وشك أن تنهدّ بها وتنهمر على أشجار الرصيف المجاور، لكنها تماسكت على الكرسي.
She wanted to get up, without really wanting that. This kind of hidden feelings were no stranger to her. In fact, they occurred to her now and again these last ten years. She was clear of them for a few moments when didn't see him, except unexpectedly one or twice in a week.	أرادت أن تنهض دون أن تكون رغبة بذلك .. مثل هذه المشاعر الخفية لم تكن غريبة عليها، بل ظلت تنتابها بين وقت وآخر منذ عشر سنوات. تتخلص منها لفترات معينة عندما لا تراه إلا بالمصادفة مرّة أو مرتين في السنة ..
Last fall, when she and her sister were wearing green dresses, they started their walk along the long lane, as was their custom evenings. The young lady A and she, while talking about her sister's first days at the university, were unaware of some man in a passing taxi driving away, unfortunately, turning back to see the two of them, snatching away his soul on that evening, like two green angels. He asked the taxi driver to stop.	في خريف قديم عندما كانت هي وأختها بفستانين أخضرين فاتحين تتمشيان على الرصيف الطويل كعادتهما المسائية، لم تكن الأنسة (ع) وهي تكلم أختها عن أيامها الأولى في الجامعة، بأن رجلاً ما كان في سيارة تكسي عابرة دفعه حظه العائر أن يلتفت فيراها حيث انخطف روحه بذلك المساء الأخضر الملائكي، فطلب من سائق التوكسي أن يتوقف ..
The man got down, not knowing what the consequences of his sudden impulse would be. He thought, if this green evening would not end! If he could stay like this undetected by these unexpected angels! in this moment unlike any other. He was sure he would awake feathery and light, as if he was here, or not here.	نزل الرجل من دون أن يعرف عواقب هذه النزوة، ففكر لو أن هذه الأمسية الخضراء لا تنتهي، لو أنه ظل هكذا مغموراً بهذه المفاجأة الملائكية، اللحظة التي لا مثيل لها، شعر بأنه أصبح شفافاً وخفيفاً كأنه موجود وغير موجود ..
The two lady angels kept walking in front of him, without him being able to see their faces. They were graceful, stimulating, but this was not his aim. He was in a strange pleasure he couldn't grasp completely.	طلّت الفتاتان الملائكيتان تسيران أمامه من دون أن يرى وجهيهما، كانتا عابيتين ورشيقتين ومثيرتين لكن لم يكن هذا قصده، كان في حالة من لذة غريبة لم يكن يفهم كنهها.

He didn't want to think of anything in particular. The vision had intoxicated him. But when they turned around to go back, the man sighed deeply. He may have mumbled some words he couldn't recall later.

He wasn't aware of his condition. What muddled him was the lady's height, good looks, attractive face, and beauty, her enticing presence and seductive walk. Then she laughed quietly while chatting with her fair sister. All of that would have to push a man to talk with her, but seeing her suddenly disjointed him, shook off his being and made him almost disappear.

The two ladies returned to the house. Miss A did not know what happened with the man. She changed her clothes and concentrated on thinking about the male students in the French Department. She hadn't found any of them who could rouse her interest, which was the opposite of how she felt before she went to the university. Since the first days, she hadn't found everything that was happening in university life, and everything her girlfriends had talked about, about the university years, but it occurred to her that they were exaggerating. Because of that, she didn't fixate her attention on these fantasies.

She was convinced inside that she was waiting for something, a man who was different, she said many times. She guarded it in her womanhood, that definitely one day he would appear. She reined in her feelings with this hidden vigil. Caught up in these thoughts, no concerns crept into her, except for off the cuff lectures from her father, and the intricate worries he hid from her, which she could see in his eyes, stirred up from reasons she could not understand. She kept trying to make him see that she loved him as she loved no one else.

لم يكن يُريد التفكير بشيء محدد، فقد سحره المشهد ولكن حين استدارتا عائدتين تنفس الرجل الصعداء، وربما همَّهم بكلام لم يعد يتذكره

لم يكن منتبهاً لحالته. الذي أربكه هو أن حضور (ع) بعُلُوها وملامح وجهها الغريبة الجمال، شعرها الأسود واهتزاز وجودها وحركتها الفاتنة، ثم ضحكتها الهادئة وهي تُكلم أختها الشقراء، كل ذلك كان يجب أن يدفعه للكلام معها لكن المشهد فجأة خلخله بل ألغى وجوده وجعله لا شيء تقريباً ...

عندما عادت الفتاتان إلى البيت لم تكن الأنسة (ع) تعرف ما حدث للرجل. كانت وهي تغَيّر ثيابها وحيدة تفكر بطلبة قسم اللغة الفرنسية، فهي لم تجد فيهم من يثير إهتمامها على عكس ما كانت تتوقع قبيل دخول الجامعة. فهي منذ الأيام الأولى لم تجد كل ما توقعته عن الحياة الجامعية، وكل أحاديث رفيقاتها عن سنوات الجامعة بدا لها مبالغ فيه. لذلك لم تعد تشغل بالها بتلك الأوهام .

كانت في قرارة نفسها تنتظر أمراً ما، رجلاً مختلفاً، قالت مرات عديدة وهي في حمى أنوثتها : لا بد أن يظهر ذات يوم. لقد رُوِّضت مشاعرها على هذا الانتظار الغامض، وفي غمرة هذه الهواجس، لم يكن ينتير البلبلة في داخلها سوى نصائح أبيها المُقتضية وقلقه الكبير الذي لا تُخفيه عيناه الملتبستان لأسباب لم تستطع فهمها، ظلت تحاول دائماً أن تُفهمه أنها تحبه كما لا تحب أحداً.

Porous Boundaries in Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*: Anticipating a Digital Composition and Subjectivity

Elise Takehana
(Fitchburg State University)

■ ABSTRACT ■

When turning to determining a subject position for the digital age, one may look beyond the invention of its technologies and instead begin with the development of its aesthetic of networked communities, nodal expression, and collaborative identity. Virginia Woolf's *The Waves* demonstrates this aesthetic in both form and content.

In this paper, I will examine the role of collaboration in the form of interdisciplinary composition, arguing that Woolf's use of musical form and dramatic monologue and dialogue structurally secure an investment in collaborative models of expression. Digital texts taut their inherent multimodality, but such compositions are also evident in pre-digital texts. In addition, I will decipher the subject position Woolf puts forward in *The Waves* by looking closely at how the characters determine their own identity and existence when they are alone, when they interact with one individual, and when they congregate as a group. These are exemplified more specifically in the representations of Rhoda and Bernard as equally refusing to collaborate between a self-defined identity and a group defined identity; Bernard's channeling of Lord Byron while writing a love letter; and Woolf's use of the red carnation as a repeated image of the intertwined nature of the characters' collaborative identity and mutual dependence on one another.

Key Words

Virginia Woolf, collaboration, subjectivity, baroque, interdisciplinary

Woolf's *The Waves* seems to anticipate Katie Mitchell's 2006 play *Waves*, which remixes, or offers another modal perspective, of the 1931 novel. *Waves*, is an ever-changing process of creating a play in front of the audience, introducing and fragmenting various media. Rather than writing a concrete script, Mitchell incorporated her cast of eight in all steps of the play production process. After collaboratively creating a storyboard, all cast members learned to use the video and sound equipment that would be incorporated as part of the composition (Sierz 54-6). For each performance of the play, the prop table was set on stage and a projection screen hung behind the table and actors. The actors alternate between manipulating props, filming, being filmed, and enacting and reading soliloquies. The actors rarely interact with one another directly but work separately to create a complete composition, showing both the action and the characters as more complex than dialogue and soliloquy. Instead, they form a constructed web of various and dispersed actions. The play becomes a display of the complexities of interaction, communication, and identity within an unstable environment. One actor may be seated reading text into a microphone, another filming an actor eating in a café set, another creating sound effects of rain and thunder at the props table. The audience watches all of the shuffling on stage while viewing the real time footage the actors shot on the screen hung above that very stage.

By including other media forms on the theatre stage and allowing the audience to witness the production live, Mitchell and her actors do imaginatively stretch the limits of theatre in the way Woolf's *The Waves* had done with the novel through its use of interior dialogue and thematic

organization loosely inspired by fugue-like musical structures. Similarly, the subject position that Woolf forwards at the height of modernism seems to foreshadow Mitchell's representation of the subject of a digital age. What I here call the digital subject is the subject that results from our now highly mediated and networked world amplified, but not wholly created, by digital technologies. The networked computer now makes the sharing and manipulation of text faster and easier, giving rise to the remix culture. Digital spaces like Second Life and MMORGs allow individuals to project personae via avatars. This not only distributes identity but also blatantly reveals identity as construction and not state. Further, as computers encode all media in binary code, the digital structure of a film, image, text, or sound file offers no differentiation in their treatment, at least by the computer. Multimodal composition is thus the *modus operandi* of the digital age and its subject. These internalized traits of the digital text and the digital subject appear in Woolf's *The Waves* as a precursor of the digital future to come.

In examining these foreshadowings, I will look to (1) the intermediary nature of *The Waves*' construction, (2) Woolf practice of thematic rather than chronological narrative structures, and (3) the interrelated and collaborative identities the characters of *The Waves* demonstrate. While digital texts and Woolf's work are often framed with discussions of the historical avant-garde and modernism, I will here employ concepts derived from recent critical literature on the resurgence of baroque traits in the neo-baroque movement. A recycling of baroque interest in the bodily, overabundance, repetition, and modulation, the neo-baroque looks to how these traits of being overpowered by our surroundings are standard fare in the highly mediated, information era of the digital. Genre, media, and subjectivity become saturated to the point where the boundaries between one genre and another or one subject and another are overcome and the distinctions that separated entities now blur to reveal a network of intertwined entities. In these networked environments, it becomes clearer

that all things are part of a larger collaborative where subjects and object equally affect one another. Tacitly then, the creator of an expression and that expression equally sway one another; hence, my attention to both the form of the narrative object and the subject position if forwards.

OVERREACHING GENRE BY ...

Woolf often called her novel a “play-poem” because it borrows conventions from several genres to create a density that overpowers the ordered control of a linear narrative. Woolf manages to borrow imagery and symbolism from poetry, character from the novel, and soliloquy from drama (Schlack 101). With so many stylistic and thematic elements at play and each becoming less distinguishable from its counterpart, Woolf overpowers the novel form, which, in fact, was a primary aim of *The Waves*. Placing her writing between prose and poetry, she says that she would avoid narrative conventions that often force writers into including superfluous information to progress linearly. Also, she would sidestep poetry proper that simplifies by leaving so much material out of the poem (Warner 25). Instead she writes in her diary entry dated November 28, 1928 “The idea has come to me that what I want now to do is to saturate every atom. I mean to eliminate all waste, deadness, superfluity: to give the moment whole; whatever it includes” (Woolf *A Writer's Diary* 138). Mitchell's view that theatre's true problem lies with a lack of imagination and the sense of insignificance the audience feels toward theatre (Sierz 59) is not far from Woolf's own dissatisfaction with the novel's conventional and increasingly confining form. It is not a mistake that Woolf saw *The Waves* as partly a play, and that Mitchell adapts the book as a play/film. The theatre itself is wholly dependent on collaborations, in which authorial intention becomes dispersed across multiple interpretations from the playwright, to the director, to the actors, to the set designer and so on

and so forth. Woolf's characters collaborate with one another to create identities and she places the novel form in collaboration with the poem, play, and the fugue. Mitchell continues this trend by collaborating with her actors to create the play and by merging many media, analog and digital, to represent both Woolf's novel and the 21st century audience who, no longer enslaved by the romantic illusion of individualism, are giving way to the blurring of boundaries between themselves and others as well as between distinct media or genres conventions.

While Woolf was reproached on her treatment of narrative she adamantly protested any claim that her work was purely stream of consciousness, saying in a 1926 diary entry that "Theres a good deal of shaping & composing in my books" (Woolf *The Diary of Virginia Woolf* 63). Though she disliked and avoided the "false arrangements" and superfluous information that the novel form often calls for, she equally objected to a work that was not disciplined into a form. She writes in her diary in November 18, 1924 "I think writing must be formal. The art must be respected. This struck me reading some of my notes here. For, if one lets the mind run loose, it becomes egotistic: personal, which I detest" (Woolf *A Writer's Diary* 67). This resonates with the idea of a collaborative space between objective and subjective experience. Just because the text does not comply with strict chronology and conventional spatial transitions and dialogue does not mean that *The Waves* is a chaotic downpour of unrelated images. Beyond thematic, the cyclical rather than linear nature of text in novel form arises when she speaks to the compositional process behind Roger Fry's biography stating "I did try to state them [the themes] in the first chapter, and then to bring in developments and variations, and then to make them all heard together and end by bringing back the first theme in the last chapter" (Woolf *The Letters of Virginia Woolf* 426). Woolf struggled with her biography on Roger Fry because the abundance of information overpowered the linear narrative form, warranting a different structural backbone. On ordering the text, she states: "there

was such a mass of detail that the only way I could hold it together was by abstracting it into themes” (Woolf *The Letters of Virginia Woolf* 426). We see that Woolf does have a clear concept of organization in her writing but as she shows, there is more than one way to write a novel – and one of those may be thematically.

Pressing the limits of a genre or medium and their conventions calls its audience to not only take up a position in regards to the process of representation but it also brings to light the social order those genres and media support. For instance, Dick Higgins observes that modern theatre is far from modern by largely maintaining the proscenium theatre as a frame for its work. The proscenium clearly marks a severe division between the actors and the viewers, where the viewers are subordinated and passively consume the actions of the actors. Higgins argues that this antiquated structure was relevant to the lord and serf model of social relations but does not speak to a modern audience that is more socially and imaginatively mobile (50). Depending on established grammatical forms and dividing the play from the audience by maintaining the proscenium essentially denies participation, and upholds traditional conventions that ignore the experiences of the modern audience. Their mobile, mediated, and fragmented lives are less applicable to a singularly and linearly scripted interpretation of lived experience. Boris Groys identifies two major steps that artists must take to abandon isolation for participation and collaboration. The first step is to overcome boundaries between media and genres, allowing for fellowships across disciplines and a significant widening of the audience and co-collaborator pool. Secondly, Groys suggests that artistic talents should not be used to highlight themes and positions that belong to the artist, but instead, the artist must recognize and be responsible to the audience and their desires (21-2).

This collaborative, participatory, thematic perception of artistic creation and identity plays well to Paul Brown’s own reading of Woolf’s sense of reality. Brown argues that reality for Woolf

is not contained within a single perceptual consciousness, nor does it exist as a collection of multiple but rigidly divided perceptual consciousness. [...] Reality seems to be composed of multiple interpenetrating consciousnesses interconnected with one another and loosely housed within fluid subjectivities and objectivities that interactively create, as well as observe, their environment (54).

Woolf's novel becomes more than a precursor to intermediary work and postmodernist thought that would explode after the Second World War. Her general thoughts on the interrelated nature of all fields of study, the limits placed on any system of thought that divides the subjective from the objective, and an identity and reality that is in fact contingent on sub(objective), lived experience (Westling 855-6), show her to be a relevant figure in charting our current digital environment and its corresponding subject position. By creating six characters that weave in and out of one another with internal monologues turned dialogues, Woolf shows the interdependence and permeability of community and individual.

MODULATING THEME...

Many scholars have already identified the relationships of the characters as the central organizing structure of *The Waves*. Beatrice Monaco states that the characters create a textual rhythm that continually modulates to create multiple patterns (179) and Gray Kochhar-Lindgren says: "*The Waves* is not so much the story, a developed plot that verbally mimes action in the world, of six characters named Bernard, Louis, Neville, Jinny, Rhoda, and Susan – as it is the discursive enactment of a single poetic voice in six closely related keys" (58). These conclusions represent but a few of their kind. Keeping in mind that the motive for a thematic organization comes from an overwhelming amount of information to sort, it does not seem shocking to consider musical theme, not just literary

theme. Woolf's use of music as inspiration for the structure of *The Waves* is itself associative rather than an accurate mimic of the form, seeing the divergent as analogous rather than exclusive. Though she notes several times in her diaries and letters music's role in her writing, she combined so many structural devices in each piece that crediting any single inspiration for her work is impossible (Jacobs 248). She was not a trained musician and did not read or play music (Jacobs 232) so her borrowing from music was one of looser interpretations of structural form and perhaps even more so an affective response to the feeling of the music that she wanted to recreate in her writing. While *The Waves* is neither Baroque nor fugue, comparisons to both highlight powerful qualities of the text. In music, plenitude, or an overwhelming amount of musical material, arises from textural and rhythmic saturation largely accomplished through using several musical motifs, called subjects, and overlapping those subjects in contrapuntal combinations (Hatten 249-50). The aural density represented in *The Waves* is impressive since the reader not only listens to the interior dialogues of the characters but to all the sounds they hear such as birds, waves, stamping, clocks, and trains (Cuddy-Keane 88). Bernard even argues that characters and certain scenes should have music that accompany them to more directly communicate a mood or feeling, to basically provide a soundtrack to the novel (Woolf 250-1). Clearly the environment portrayed in *The Waves* is one of density and quandary, though also linked and associative.

In music, counterpoint, which orders plenitude, is the combination and relation between two independent voices that are harmonically interrelated. Each voice is unique from others in the composition but when many voices are played at once their combination is harmonic rather than dissonant. Counterpoint, like its ultimate expression in the fugue, is not a form with a definitive set of moves. Instead, it is a process of composition whose outcomes are multiple and varied. The act of harmonically interrelating parts of a mass is essentially the motive of thematic or

associative models of organization. Counterpoint has often been revisited as an organizational structure of great importance. Even Arnold Schönberg saw counterpoint's ability to infinitely recombine into a "many-sided presentation of an idea" as its greatest virtue. Counterpoint helps structures with one correct answer and predictable progressions (Peles 122). In fact, Schönberg used counterpoint as a game for his students to find all possible solutions and then continue creating even more (Neff 128). This essentially entails taking a central idea that has been compressed into a theme and seeing how craftily it can be transposed, modulated, flipped, and reversed while weaving through several keys and interacting with other melodic lines (Neff 124-5). The ability of counterpoint and the fugue to order highly saturated and dense material could well have been what drew Beethoven to the fugue style in his late string quartets (Hatten 250) that were of such interest to Woolf. That Woolf imagines her writing as a presentation, development, variation, and convergence of themes attests to her recognition of fugal organization as an associative thematic model applicable to writing a novel that is counter to novelistic tradition.

As Woolf's use of a musical metaphor for textual organization is more approximate than it is an accurate translation of musical theories of composition, a brief description of the characteristics of a fugue will be sufficient to outline a common general impulse towards theme-based organization. The fugue is the most complex compositional use of counterpoint and must include at least a subject. The subject is a short melodic line confined to one octave that can be easily recognized and has a distinctive rhythm. The subject is often accompanied by countersubjects, though rarely more than five. A countersubject, like a subject must be unique and melodically interesting. The countersubject also must provide a rhythmic contrast to the subject to aid in distinguishing them but more importantly to add interest in their harmonic combination. If a fugue has no countersubjects, the subject is accompanied by counterpoint (Kennan 207). In well written fugues with more than one countersubject

it sometimes becomes difficult to determine where the subject is re-introduced or when the subject ends and the countersubject begins. Josephine O'Brien-Schaefer makes a similar observation of the transitions between characters' interior dialogues in *The Waves*. Because each character refers to him or herself in the first person singular and the transitions between characters are easily read over, as they are simply "said Bernard" or "said Jinny," the reader often loses his or her place and converges one character's interior dialogue with another's (159). The interweaving of subjects within the plenitude exemplifies the complexity of the relationship between the subject and his or her surroundings.

In addition to transitions from subject to countersubject, or one countersubject to another are transitions between musical keys effected by the use of an episode. Episodes in fugues are extraordinarily common because they allow the composer to show how craftily he or she can continue reintroducing the subject through key changes. An episode offers the listener a break from the dominant theme of the subject and operates by recycling portions of the subject, countersubject, counterpoint, and new material to modulate to a different key (Kennan 220). During an episode, the texture of the composition thins since modulating to a new key is emphasized over converging subject and countersubjects (Kennan 222). Woolf uses a similar structure to transition between different time periods in *The Waves*. Between the main chapters are brief descriptions of the passage of a day in a seaside scene, which she calls interludes. She repeatedly describes the sea, sun, birds, garden, and a house. There are no people in these interludes; rather the reader watches the sun rising and setting and what affect that movement has on the world below. Each interlude sets the tone for the following chapter; for instance, suggesting intensity with the sharpness of shadows and crisis with frantic bird songs and flight. With none of the characters present, the reader can focus on the tone that forms and the very passage of time through watching the movement of the sun, essentially modulating the characters to a different

time and version of themselves. The reader can recognize a basic recycling of material between the chapters and interludes – with one example being the flower that sits next to a red-trimmed curtain on the windowsill of the seaside house. Woolf writes: “*The real flower on the window-sill was attended by a phantom flower. Yet the phantom flower was part of the flower for when a bud broke free, the paler flower in the glass opened a bud too*” (Woolf 75). Not only is the flower repeated but varied in the window, it also reappears at Percival’s dinner, the dinner at Hampton Court, and Neville, Louis, and Bernard’s graduation. As with the fugal episode, during this interlude, the flower as a theme is simplified but recycled from the chapters.

... BAROQUE THE SUBJECT

In Woolf’s *The Waves*, we find a clear preference for intermediary work as a way of expanding the format, presentation, and composition of the modern novel; an unleashing of the imagination to overcome established boundaries; and a saturation and density of material that surpasses the control narrative can yield over a smaller archive of information. All of these major contributing elements are also key characteristics apparent in baroque work and its resurgence in the neo-baroque especially as it concerns cinema; a spectacular and popular medium that, like theatre, has historically been a collective effort and invested in exploiting the newest technology to mimic reality. Gregg Lambert describes the Baroque as a movement whose traits include:

[1] an experience of temporality marked by the themes of novelty, variety and multiplicity [2] a loss of distinct perception of the central figure or action [3] the physical participation of the spectator in the presentation of the artwork through an emotional feeling of dizziness

or swooning (literally, of being overpowered by the spectacle) [4]
 finally, a heightened sense of enthusiasm, delight or marvel. (23)

These generalized qualities highlight seriality and varied repetition over the linear narrative, a shifting and unstable subject, immersion and showmanship in crafting a work, and an emotional rather than logical motive to both create and consume. Unpacking these traits exposes a thought process unlike rational logic but very appropriate to the mediated environment with which the subject of digital culture interfaces. The prolific use of extended allegories and varied repetitions of a trait stems from an overabundance of material. Angela Ndalianis employs the repeated use of the figure of Apollo in the gardens of Versailles as an example of an extended allegory of kingship. Because the gardens are so extensive, many varied repetitions in the form of carvings and statues need to be dispersed throughout the space in order to solidify the comparison between Apollo and Louis XIV. Concentrating on a repeated trait rather than a narrative trajectory lends itself to blurring boundaries between media. Being able to represent Apollo through a marble statue, stone carving in a fountain, or a painting only allows the trait to spread more widely. Baroque systems in fact “tend to invade space in every direction, to perforate it to become as one with all its possibilities” as Angela Ndalianis argues (25). In fact, the project of Angela Ndalianis’ *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* looks to how mass media continue such extended and spectacular theme clusters that began in Baroque theatre. Such methods of theming masses touch Woolf’s own struggles with the novel and biography.

But beyond form, she even considers the collaborative nature of subjectivity. She is skilled at including very personal scenes from her life into *The Waves* without slipping into a purely personal narrative that has less affective potential to a wide audience. Woolf capitalizes on the potentialities of multiple interpretations of self by abstracting and using

many of her personal experiences as keystones of various characters' sets of imagery. We thus read her characters as multiple interpretations of Woolf herself. In commenting on *The Waves*, Woolf states: "I did mean that in some vague way we are the same person, and not separate people. The six characters were supposed to be one....I come to feel more and more how difficult it is to collect oneself into one Virginia; even though the special Virginia in whose body I live for the moment is violently susceptible to all sorts of separate feeling" (Nicolson & Trautmann 397). What each character signifies of Woolf as a person and how accurate each representation is to her life is less important than the idea of dispersing identity across several persona and the complementary impulse to draw together relationships between scattered parts. The accuracy of an individual experience is not what is emphasized but rather the affective response shared across a group of subjects. This attention to inexpressible traits even provides a point of commonality between Woolf's literary work and her sister's visual artwork. Vanessa Bell's "aesthetic principle is what, in painting, her husband called significant form; it shares an affinity with her sister's aspirations for biography in her well-known desire for life-writing to go beyond the granite of mere facts and seek the rainbow of personality" (Benton 109).

It is in this recognition of the difference between the personal and the persona that we find Woolf's understanding of the subject as a process. Woolf presents the six friends in *The Waves* – Bernard, Neville, Louis, Rhoda, Jinny, and Susan – as separate people. She names them and gives them unique, specific images and qualities. However, the reader clearly understands that each character's identity is closely tied to what he or she sees and does, how the characters interact with the one another, and what they say and think of their friends. Each character must collaborate with the others to find their identity that is increasingly understood to be contingent, shifting, and unrepresentable in any single story.

Kresimir Purgar explains a subject's vulnerability in his book, *The*

Neo-Baroque Subject. He argues that the observer can become the subject of a painting by taking up the role of a mediator between the inside and outside of a scene. The painting is not just consumed by the viewer but alters the viewer through a confrontation. For instance, Purgar examines Lovro Artuković's 2004 painting *Little Red Riding Hood (evil?)* arguing that the viewer is confronted by the gaze of Little Red Riding Hood for whom the audience feels responsible. She is depicted alone on a canvas but the viewer can see that on another canvas out of her line of vision, the wolf lies in wait. The viewer becomes folded into the message of impending doom, disempowerment, and responsibility for others. Similarly, Gregg Lambert looks to Caravaggio's *The Conversion of St. Paul* and notes that the support or center of the painting is not present on the canvas but rests on "the position of the spectator – the affective surface produced in the emotional perception" (27). The idea of the observer as mediator that fills the blank between the subject and object places that spectator as the interpreter of a scene's possibilities rather than a consumer of one set scene. Omar Calabrese takes the act of interpretation as the basis of all critical activity. He argues that interpretation restores freedom and independence in the subject who builds a point of view towards his or her world through these interpretations.

Of the many Neo-Baroque qualities Calabrese explicates, that of the approximate and inexpressible is taken up again by Purgar as a primary motive for actions of the neo-baroque subject. He summarizes Calabrese's discussion of the approximate and inexpressible saying "a subject *knows* that there exists the remainder of a content or meaning which eludes description, but is *unable to express it*" (Purgar 20, 22). This feeling of being pressed upon by a remainder shows the influence the other, the object supposedly external to the subject, has over that subject. Because the subject cannot make a unity of meaning, he or she cannot be seen as wholly separate from the objects he or she manipulates. Woolf exemplifies this blurring between a self and its other in the very format of *The Waves*.

As each character speaks, the speeches are presented as interior monologues, as though – at least momentarily – there was a unified self that can recede from his or her surroundings and reflect on a scene without being impressed upon by others. However, the reader discovers with the first pages of the novel that the speeches are not pure interior monologues since characters seem to respond to what the others are thinking. In addition, similar images appear in the thoughts of several different characters, including a blue ring that unites the world and an interest in mirrors and reflective surfaces. Gabriele Schwab calls these exchanges “interior dialogues” because of their denial of a purely external or purely internal space for the subject who cannot directly speak to another character or him or herself but must skew each with the other at all times (83).

THE DEFICIENCIES OF SINGULARITY

Woolf takes as given the idea of an interdependent subject inherently defined as a part divided but dependent on what he or she is not. The severity of this type of identity construction is most clearly evident in the characters of Rhoda and Bernard. These characters form the two extremes of representing the relationship between subject and object. For Woolf's literary practice and the Baroque/Neo-Baroque there is no pure subject or object but only the in-between space of the mediator or interpreter. Rhoda and Bernard struggle to find peace in their interactions with their surroundings because they cannot find the in-between and instead invest themselves in one extremity of the spectrum. Rhoda views herself as a pure interior and Bernard a pure exterior and thus they are unable to determine themselves as subjects enfolded in the objects. Their inability to collaborate, to successfully relate the subject and object, marks both as divided from the social whole.

Rhoda denies any interaction with the outside world and the people

in it. One of her most powerful recurring images is her denial of a face and her fear of her own reflection. When she sees her face in a mirror she recognizes it as her own but quickly ducks behind Susan to hide that she is present in the world (Woolf 43). Rhoda does not know how to interact with others and hence denies that she has a face to confront or present to the other. Any interaction requires the presence of at least two differentiated interlocutors, but since Rhoda will not even draw the basic boundary of her own body or face she removes herself from any possibility of interacting with another person.

Because she struggles to integrate herself with others, she passes her time daydreaming. Those very dreams reveal her anguish and frustration with being unable to relate to and collaborate with other people. She hides in the school library and reads poetry, imagining herself gathering flowers and tying them together—of essentially ordering the world around her. Despite all her feelings that she wishes to express through her creations, she finds that she has no one with which to share herself. She cries out:

To whom shall I give all that now flows through me, from my warm, my porous body? I will gather my flowers and present them – Oh! to whom? Sailors loiter on the parade, and amorous couples; the omnibuses rattle along the sea front to the town. I will give; I will enrich; I will return to the world this beauty. I will bind my flowers in one garland and advancing with my hand outstretched will present them— Oh! to whom? (Woolf 57)

Woolf's use of loving couples and a returning sailor is quite purposeful since a romantic relationship depends highly on trusting the other person to treat you well and compromise selfish desire for the better of the relationship. The very idea that a personal completeness relies on unity with the other is what Grady Smith calls the risk of love (39) hence the wording of wedding vows such as "the two shall become one" or

"I give myself to thee."

Rhoda feels inherently divided from the world and the other characters take note of the separation. Even while the characters are still in grammar school, Rhoda is disconnected from the others. During recess she stays in the classroom to finish her mathematics assignment. She does not understand any of the figures, saying they have no meaning. She is disabled by her lack of understanding a common language that punishes her twice. Rhoda is estranged from an answer that the mathematical symbols yield to all the other characters and she is physically separated from her friends that play just outside the window of the classroom. Her isolation from established fields of knowledge and lived experiences with the world around her leave her nothing tangible that she can manipulate, create, and share with others. Instead her severe individualism swallows her whole.

Bernard faces quite the opposite problem of being able to craft stories and insert himself in any circumstance and situation but never finding a personal relevance that brings meaning to him. When he and his five friends meet as mature adults at Hampton Court, Bernard cannot describe himself without folding in the experiences of his friends into his own identity. He says, "what I call 'my life', it is not one life that I look back upon; I am not one person; I am many people; I do not altogether know who I am – Jinny, Susan, Neville, Rhoda, or Louis; or how to distinguish my life from theirs" (Woolf 276). Shortly afterwards as Bernard tries to recount the story of his life to a stranger in a café, he takes this unity of identity a step further by marking his own body with the experiences of his friends rather than himself. He says with all conviction: "Here on my brow is the blow I got when Percival fell. Here on the nape of my neck is the kiss Jinny gave Louis. My eyes fill with Susan's tears. I see far away, quivering like a gold thread, the pillar Rhoda saw, and feel the rush of the wind of her flight when she leapt" (Woolf 289). While Rhoda eradicates her entire body in order to refuse all relations and collaborations, Bernard takes all external experiences he can recall

and pastes them onto his body, mapping the events of the other as intimately his own. Unlike Rhoda, who is only of consequence when she is alone in her daydreams, Bernard needs all the others present in order to illuminate his own significance as the storyteller.

Despite all the stories that he spins, he does not find *the* meaning of the universe. Instead, he discovers that the very stories he relied on to expose meaning defy a singular meaning in favor of the multiple interpretations of reality. In order to come to a sense of meaning, Bernard finds that he has to tap into an emotional and personal aspect of what he observes in the external world. After he drops his book of phrases to be swept up with the garbage, he says:

What is the phrase for the moon? And the phrase for love? By what name are we to call death? I do not know. I need a little language such as lovers use, words of one syllable such as children speak when they come into the room and find their mother sewing and pick up some scrap of bright wool, a feather, or a shred of chintz. I need a howl; a cry. When the storm crosses the marsh and sweeps over me where I lie in the ditch unregarded I need no words. Nothing neat. (Woolf 295)

He finally recognizes that the answer to the universe and to understanding his place in that universe is not to be found in objectivity or plot but in emotion, the risk of confrontation or rejection, and the dependence or attachment of a relationship. Bernard realizes at the end of the novel that each story or description is a mark of the individual's interpretation of the world rather than a purely objective or even singular, subjective representation of the world as a whole.

The state of the individual is highly unstable. Rhoda exists purely in the present and has no way of linking the moment with a history, a social significance, or another subject. She is entirely immersed in a moment and cannot see beyond the emotional and sensational elements of that

chink in time. Bernard is only constituted by careful twistings of language that attempt to bind everything together to produce an ultimate truth of the universe. While he is observant and often carried away by the crowd or chaos, he divorces his personal feelings and life experiences from his observations becoming purely contemplative. Both are unable to come to terms with their environment because they cannot fully collaborate; an action that requires both converging with and diverging from the other.

POROUS BOUNDARIES OF THE SUBJECT

With any sense of an integral and distinct self a mere illusion, we return to the need for collaboration with others. These collaborations reveal the porosity of our identity. What brings the separated individuals together to form a community is a common recognition of the inherent lack of identity proper to each. Even Virginia Woolf states that “I” is just a term used for a person with “no real being” (Woolf *A Room of One's Own* 4). The idea of self gives way to a shifting “series of moving oppositions” as Lisa Lucenti recalls Friedrich Nietzsche’s thoughts on the modern subject. She points out that Nietzsche believes that the subject is a spell of language masking that reality is not based on the subject but on a constant action. Along similar lines of thought, Nicholas Davey overturns René Descartes’s self-aware subject by reshaping the interpretation of the use of the word “I”. For Davey, “I” does not symbolize the self-aware subject but the linguistic existence of the other from which “I” is differentiated (55). The “I” is not a singular point but a hinge between the “I” the reader imagines and the “I” the author imagined. In its function as hinge, the “I” allows an opening and interrelationship between two separate imaginations. “I” then is the very paradox of dividing something to make a unity. Each time a subject divides him or herself as an “I,” they only build another hinge to relate and connect themselves

to the other.

Viewing the “I” as a function to create relationships rather than a statement that solidifies a singular identity shows the basic human instinct to collaborate. This does not make it any easier for people to be comfortable sharing themselves with others. As Josephine O’Brien-Schaefer points out, human relations operate in a basic paradox of “the fear that this private life will be violated, and the desire to share it with others” (25). Woolf seems deeply interested in this divide of any human mind between the social or collective and the personal and so she plays up the human skill of thinking about oneself as a part of a crowd (immersed) or to separate oneself from the crowd in order to watch over others (contemplative) (Peach 157). Viewing collaboration as a division of the workload, as a multiplication of singular authors undermines the true importance and potential of collaborating. Collaboration is “a dispersal of author/ity, rather than a simple doubling of it” as Jeffrey Masten argues (Hirschfeld 616).

Apparently the most productive and enlightening atmospheres for interacting with others is one that is not strictly or hierarchically ordered but one that allows for a degree of chaos. Evan Rosen describes this productive chaos as a place for unstructured exchange of ideas not one of total anarchy or disorganization (12). This unstructured organization mimics the space of play and allows for the spontaneous association and the unexpected to come and enrich the topic at hand. When faced with writing a letter to a girl that Bernard loves, he leaves himself room to play by not taking the task too seriously. Bernard begins the writing process with role-playing. He states:

Now, as a proof of my susceptibility to atmosphere, here, as I come into my room, and turn on the light, and see the sheet of paper, the table, my gown lying negligently over the back of the chair, I feel that I am that dashing yet reflective man, that bold and deleterious

figure, who, lightly throwing off his cloak, seizes his pen and at once flings off the following letter to the girl with whom he is passionately in love. (Woolf 79)

Though Bernard has attempted to write the letter several times and has been unable to finish, he believes that taking up Lord Byron's persona will motivate him to approach the project afresh. Bernard admits that he is using Byron to launch himself by picking up on Byron's rhythm. He thinks to himself: "I am, in some ways, like Byron. Perhaps a sip of Byron will help to put me in the vein. Let me read a page. No; this is dull; this is scrappy. This is rather too formal. Now I am getting the hang of it. Now I am getting his beat into my brain" (Woolf 79). Though he is able to begin a draft, he fears that he was not able to converge himself and Byron satisfactorily, resulting in a mediocre impersonation of the great Byron. He has not quite joined himself with Byron and abandons the draft for the time being.

Instead of laboring over Byron's poetry or his own love letter, Bernard daydreams. He is soon interrupted by Neville's voice recounting his own vision of Percival under the willows alongside a river with several other attractive men. During this vision Neville seems to unwittingly take up the thread of Byron that Bernard introduces. Neville feels gripped by a familiar rhythm that rises up again because it has some inherent similarity with his daydream. He feels instantly inspired and takes himself to be a poet (Woolf 82). Neville's inspiration is an unconscious surging of familiarity between the riverbank scene and some already existing image. Woolf takes the string of associations even farther by having Bernard enter into Neville's scene. Upon Bernard's entrance, Neville states: "Yet how painful to be recalled, to be mitigated, to have one's self adulterated, mixed up, become part of another. As he approaches I become not myself but Neville mixed with somebody – with whom? – with Bernard? Yes, it is Bernard, and it is to Bernard that I shall put the question, Who

am I?" (Woolf 83). Bernard only confirms this merging of their two separate identities and daydreams by claiming Neville's moment of inspiration as equally his own. The willow tree that Neville sees above Percival's head is what reminds Bernard of Byron.

This inspiration takes Bernard off to imagining Byron hovering over him, disapproving of his work. Perhaps we can view this as tradition resisting or turning its nose down on renditions and remakes, a view that Neville would probably support given his negative opinion of Bernard's willingness to borrow heavily from Byron. It is Neville's nearsightedness that leads to his failure to see that his own moment of inspiration was due to a strange familiarity with the scene (Perhaps Byron's "By the Rivers of Babylon," or further Psalm 137), not that he found something new and unique to that moment. Bernard instead embraces the idea of identity being a collective project and any artistic creation to be necessarily a rendition of the material already filling the cultural and historical archive that human history has amassed over the millennia. He recognizes his multiplicity saying, "I am Bernard; I am Byron; I am this, that and the other. They [past literary figures] darken the air and enrich me, as of old, with their antics, their comments, and cloud the fine simplicity of my moment of emotion. For I am more selves than Neville thinks. We are not simple as our friends would have us to meet their needs" (Woolf 89). Rather than revering the past and literary tradition as a sacred and separate object, Bernard breathes life into the past by showing its continued relevance in how he thinks of himself and even writes. Bernard's writing is not conceived to become a pure object divorced from the world but a remix of what he finds significant and convergent. He enacts his power over his environment not by disciplining and categorizing it but by affectively gathering what he associates with himself. As Lauryl Tucker posits "Bernard the writer reveals that he, in literary terms, is more the product of composition, the language itself, than the subject or poet who composes it" (297).

ENTANGLED IDENTITIES

With individual identity being a careful remix of personal experience and one's surroundings and traditions, how do we best proceed to use this model of collaboration and intersubjective dependence to make meaning of our world? Woolf's characters find the answer to this question in Percival while they dine with him before his departure to India. Percival is in one way a central character since the other six characters adore him and congregate around him. However, he is also a non-existent character since unlike Rhoda, Jinny, Susan, Neville, Louis, and Bernard, he never speaks but is only observed as a shared inspiration between all six friends. Despite his silence, Percival does impart a lesson to the six friends that they all recognize. Louis translates the message rather clearly saying that Percival "makes us aware that these attempts to say, 'I am this, I am that,' which we make, coming together, like separated parts of one body and soul, are false" (Woolf 137). Perhaps since Percival does not have his own voice and because of his role as a soldier, he inspires in the others a sense of unity that transcends any differences each will try to champion as his or her individualism. Neville expands on this point when he describes raging waters as more stable than any assertion of "I am this, I am that." Louis does not leave us with such a precarious circumstance but goes on to say that beyond our difference lies "a chain whirling round, round, in a steel-blue circle beneath" (Woolf 137). Though he does not explicate what this chain that binds all the "I's" is, Jinny and Susan quickly follow with an interpretation. They each call this circle love and hate marking this chain as one of common emotion or instinct. Bringing all these "I's" together creates a community through common feeling but what kind of community does Woolf imagine for her characters?

Galia Benziman and Craig Gordon take up representations of community in Woolf's writings and come to similar conclusions as to the quality of that community. Benziman argues that because the characters view

themselves as unique “I’s” whose identities are determined by a shifting whole, the community that is created by their union is open, fragmented, and dissonant. Such a community maintains the differences between each “I” while gathering them by a base commonality unlike corporate or totalitarian communities that eradicate difference to enforce identity as purely a group function (Benziman 69). Gordon also dissociates this corporate/totalitarian model from Woolf’s work. Woolf does not mark one character as central to which all others fall behind as Percival is clearly disempowered without a voice and Bernard, though the final long chapter is told in his voice alone, still recognizes his full dependence on the other characters. She equally does not erase the differences between the characters, maintaining their signature images and colors, attitudes and fears. Gordon argues that Woolf’s sense of community is similar to Jean-Luc Nancy’s organic community which forms out of “sharing, diffusion, or impregnation” of one identity across the collective until each “I” sees him or herself as a part of a living and shifting community (Gordon 35-6).

Woolf provides a powerful and recurring image to recreate and depict this organic community with the red carnation that appears when the characters gather together. The most enthusiastic carnation scene arises during Percival’s farewell dinner as the friends talk on their shared memories of their past at school days. Bernard points out that despite their different interpretations of the past and their very different lives in the present, they have all come together on that night for some reason. While he first attributes it to a common love for Percival, Bernard pushes that idea aside as too small a motive to gather together old friends. Instead he settles on the idea that what brought them all together was a common desire to create, saying:

We have come together (from the North, from the South, from Susan's farm, from Louis' house of business) to make one thing, not enduring—for

what endures? – but seen by many eyes simultaneously. There is a red carnation in that vase. A single flower as we sat here waiting, but now a seven-sided flower, many-petalled, red, puce, purple-shaded, stiff with silver-tinted leaves – a whole flower to which every eye brings its own contribution. (Woolf 127)

They have all congregated in order to harvest a common but individual vision of their world with the carnation as a small example of how that process of interpreting one object as infinitely many and many interpretations as one concretely one. Quiet individual contemplation will provide only one view while moving around it and listening to other perspectives will allow for an infinite number of views.

Gilles Deleuze takes up this type of motion around a point in his *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* when he describes his idea of the objectile. Taking up a mathematical model, Deleuze explains that rather than look for *the one* straight tangent that will intersect a curve at its vertex, we should find the infinite number of curves that touch that vertex resulting in many curves touching many curves rather than one line touching one curve (Deleuze 18). This infinite curve on curve process creates an objectile, an object based on fluctuation and a continuous modulation over time (Deleuze 19). With an objectile there is not one correct answer or ultimate truth but neither is truth purely relative since there is still only one base curve just as there is only one physical carnation on the dinner table. Rather, variation, relativity, and modulation is the truth that appears to Deleuze and Woolf. Both consider interpretation and mediation to be the domain of lived experience.

When the six friends convene around yet another flower decades later, variation and modulation are directly referenced as the substance of that common flower. While the gathering of friends is far less convivial and weighted by the concerns and regrets of mature characters, the convergence of the different “I’s” is viewed as a triumph. Bernard mentions the carnation

from Percival's farewell dinner, identifying the new flower at Hampton Court as a continued variation on the long dead carnation of their past. Louis still sees the flower at Hampton Court as an illumination against the undifferentiated surroundings and Jinny notes how painful and how long it took to create this six-sided flower from their own experiences. Bernard describes this flower of their mature adulthood saying, "Marriage, death, travel, friendship, town and country; children and all that; a many-sided substance cut out of this dark; a many-faceted flower. Let us stop for a moment; let us behold what we have made. Let it blaze against the yew trees. One life. There. It is over. Gone out." (Woolf 229) All of the trials that each character has weathered alone come together in that flower, uniting their varied perspectives and experiences into one common place and time, one gathering around their desire to be together.

When the perspectives are brought together they do not appear as pieces glued into a configuration. Each piece is intimately a part of the other. Once again we can turn to Deleuze to explain this sense of unity in separate identities in his definition of Gottfried Leibniz's monad. The monad corresponds to the soul and the soul is the highest point of nature, the point of view that one particular person will take in understanding his or her universe (Deleuze 23). Each monad contains the multiplicity of all possible outcomes but retains one irreducible point of view, making it both everything imaginable and one particular impression of everything all at once (Deleuze 23-5). Imagining the universe as a series of multiple interpretations of an archive of infinite information removes the idea of searching for the meaning of the universe outside the individual. Everything is already in each individual but configured at different ratios. The only meaning each person, each soul, each monad will have is filtered by its point of view that makes it a unique interpretation of its surroundings. What is enlightening about the flower in both dinner scenes is its role in reminding all the characters how intricate and separate each view of the flower is, while still being the pivot point that joins the seemingly

disassociated lives of Jinny and Louis or of Susan and Neville. Their understandings of themselves are purely interior where each character sees what he or she desires and interprets their individual and shared lives that way, Louis converting himself to a stalk, Jinny a dancing scarf, Susan her milk cows and doves. However, when they look inside themselves what they find is their relationship to the whole, to all other characters and their divergent perspectives on life. Here we are not far from Deleuze's assertion that the subject does not work from a "divine understanding" but from "tiny perceptions as representative of the world in the finite self" (89).

Woolf draws her carnation image into supporting this idea of a relevance that brings together a community. The bee that flies around the scene of Neville, Louis, and Bernard's graduation ceremony shows community is the process of connecting varied perspectives of a shared experience. While Louis is reverent and thankful, Bernard distracted, and Neville annoyed and impatient with the pompous nature of the ceremony, each remarks that their graduation is the beginning of an era that will disperse one from the others. Louis emphasizes that despite physical and temporal distance, he will remain close to Bernard, Neville, and Percival because, as he says, "we have forged certain links. Above all, we have inherited traditions" (Woolf 58). Because their paths have crossed and in a particular shared social context, they cannot separate the others from themselves. As Bernard tries to gather the right words of farewell, he sees a bee moving from the flowers in Lady Hampton's bouquet, distracting the young men from the gravity of the ceremony with its casual flight. The bee lands on a carnation while Bernard notes that he may not see his friends again. While Bernard remains somber, the bee has already done the work of connecting the young men. As it moves from place to place, they each follow. The bee's path defines a gentle unity that is not forced or announced. This may be why the headmaster giving the graduation speech does not even notice the bee. He is busy determining the magnitude

of the moment in a neatly composed utterance, the opposite of the bee's nonchalant and impromptu journey within the scene.

The bee as a marker of an instinctual, unrefined, unity between the characters returns towards the end of the novel. Bernard compares himself to a bee that is brushed away from a sunflower. Just as the bee seeks the sweetness of the sunflower's pollen, Bernard is collecting phrases and waiting for them to be of use, for *the* true story to come to him. Just as the significant link between the young men was their shared experiences in school and not the headmaster's prepared speech, so too are the snippets and phrases Bernard harvests more representative of his interpretation of the world than any complete story he can imagine. Even when something like a single red flower in a vase inspires a phrase, Bernard only sees a constant repetition with each of his friends' faces reoccurring, detaching, and coming together again as if each were a musical instrument in a symphony creating consonance and dissonance (Woolf 256). He cannot complete a story and close reality because he sees in his world a series in place of a plot. Because there is no end or resolution, Bernard cannot order the world as such. He equally cannot lay down his desire to come to a meaning considering how his life has revolved around an obsession to spin phrases. Instead he has to replicate the response of the Baroque viewer of any of the great ceiling paintings: not to stand back and analyze the scene or fall into the perfectly dramatic perspectival space represented, but to realize something in that space (Ndalianis 209). For the Baroque viewer of the ceiling painting that realization comes from stepping away from the vanishing point until the perspective is exposed and the difference between the painting and the architecture becomes evident. Bernard realizes that the phrases he spins are not what distinguish the real from the unreal but expose a field of potentials and relationships that lie in the perspective of each character. These perspectives meet to collaboratively imply the infinite interpretations of the world that are both individual and collective at once.

In being composed of all possible experiences, the monadic subject expresses him or herself as one interpretation of the in-between space of subjects and objects. As Deleuze points out, Leibniz provides such a philosophy of the world that begins with a figure that is inscribed over a field, allowing for points of view to form expressions of that field. According to Peter Abbs *The Waves* follows such a model by working from a character's impulse, which manifests itself into an image, which repeats over the field of the novel, which is finally received by the other characters and readers. For Woolf, this sentiment goes beyond the page to a veritable network of all things – of connected subjects, texts, concepts, objects.

It is the rapture I get when in writing I seem to be discovering what belongs to what; making a scheme come right; making a character come together. From this I reach what I might call a philosophy; at any rate it is a constant idea of mine; that behind the cotton wool is hidden a pattern; that we—I mean all human beings—are connected with this; that the whole world is a work of art; that we are parts of the work of art. *Hamlet* or a Beethoven quartet is the truth about this vast mass that we call the world. But there is no Shakespeare, there is no Beethoven; certainly and emphatically there is no God; we are the words; we are the music; we are the thing itself. And I see this when I have a shock. (Woolf *Moments of Being* 72)

This monadic subject that is as much a part of a collective as it is a creator, hints to the future digital subject. The digital subject is predicated then on an interconnectedness that stems from varied repetition, one conceptually foregrounded by Woolf and other authors and artists like her perhaps as much as it relies on mobile phones in its current function. We are engrossed in relationships and associations that challenge us not to analyze or answer but to spin more possible combinations, to push one more contrapuntal composition out of the same subject, imagine one

more faceted side to a carnation, put on one more performance of *Waves* to continue yet build onto a theme. These additive, associative, and intersubjective clusters form networks of meaning that brings out the desire to collaborate, combine, reconfigure, or modulate a subject over and again while pushing genre boundaries. This flexibility and willingness to see what was a boundary as collaborative potential continues to figure in multimodal composition and subjectivity in the networked environment of the digital. The seeds of such developments were cultural and artistic as much as they were technologic.

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Tar Baby: Search for Identity in Commodity Culture

Susmita Talukdar
(Tribhuvan University, Nepal)

■ ABSTRACT ■

Tar Baby, Toni Morrison's fourth novel re examines the problem that black characters face in negotiating a place for themselves within a dominant culture, with respect to their own history and culture. The novel critiques the dominant socio economic and commodifying cultural space from which the black woman seems to have no escape. Jadine is a colonized subject, for as a fashion model she has surrendered to an aesthetics of commodification, and as a student of art history, she has internalized the capitalist ethic of the white culture industry. Though she has ensured her freedom, Morrison's critique of her separation from her family and culture is unmistakable. Interwoven with her narrative is Son's predicament, the stereotype of a black racist and her 'lover'. The novel ends with him at the crossroads of culture, yet signaling his passage to freedom through resistance. The paper arguments how Toni Morrison has envisioned the welfare of African American community by reconstructing the role of new black generation, as represented by Jadine and Son, whose new journey towards their self fulfillment just not only bring their personal freedom but also regenerates African American community by resisting dominant commodifying cultural.

Key Words

culture industry, commodification, internalization, resistance, identity, crossroads of culture

One of the worst impacts of capitalism is its principle of commodity consumption that has almost blurred the vision of people, who, being dazzled by the glow of economic prosperity, as offered with magnetism of dollars, material wealth and luxury, can hardly make a distinction between a commodity and human being. The expansionist motto of Euro-American capitalism has effectively used mass media for spreading the image of superiority of the leading white power among the less privileged, including the racially marginalized. In order to uphold the superstructure of the society as supremely beautiful and permanently intact a submission to the dominant ideology is intended by the legislators of the society, and that submissive role is taken by African Americans. Within an unacknowledged apartheid social structure of American society almost every aspect of black life is practically determined and controlled by white supremacy, and, even the 'blackness' of African Americans is represented according to the prefabricated notion of black identity. What follows are the popular racist stereotypes--a black male is dangerous and threatening, whereas a black female is a strong figure, "black mammy," the gender inspired image. The commodification of 'blackness' in the mass media and the re-production of black art and culture by a white artist have its direct effect on the formation of a group's social identity. In order to deconstruct those representations which are mainly designed to promulgate domination, an original cultural space is urgently required within an alien but hegemonic cultural space. Ian Angus and Sut Jhally have said, "In contemporary culture the media have become central to the constitution of social identity We also identify and construct ourselves as social beings through the mediation of images" (qtd. in hooks 5). Toni Morrison's fourth novel *Tar Baby* shows an African American crisis of identity as its characters are placed within such a cultural space from which they seem to have no escape. The present paper approaches the novel as a critique of the dominant socio-economic ideology of commodification of 'blackness,' and shows how Morrison invests in

exploring the survival strategy for blacks by way of creating a cultural resistance that will decolonize their colonized minds and actions.

Morrison's setting of the central plot of the novel in the small island of Isle de le Chevalier that is located between two metropolitan capitals of New York and Paris in the French Caribbean, is suggestive of the contemporary dilemmas African Americans face: how they will negotiate a place for themselves within a dominant culture with respect to their own history and culture? L'Arbe de la Croix--Valerian Street's mansion/ the master's mansion becomes the symbol of dominant socio economic and cultural space in which Jadine and Son are struggling for their self fulfilment: one is through cultural assimilation and another by his strong adherence to past. The master's house with juxtaposition of both black and white characters seems to be a prototype of an 'idealized' American society, but the epitome of this 'naturalized' society is shattered with Son's intrusion, that exposes repressed antagonism within the household and all hostilities and secrets, that had been suppressed under the guise of what looks "like a family" (*Tar Baby* 49) come into surface. It is its explosive text of race that ensured Morrison the cover of the *Newsweek*. Jean Strouse wrote: "In the new novel, *Tar Baby*, Morrison takes on a much larger world than she has before, drawing a composite picture of America in black and white" ("Toni Morrison's Black Magic" 52).

Essentially *Tar Baby* is the story of Jadine Childs, a fair complexioned Negro woman of twenty-five, who lives a life of comfort and luxury, which is easily accessible to her. She was in Baltimore and was later taken to the Caribbean island of Dominique by her uncle and aunt, Sydney and Ondine Childs, who worked as butler and maid for Valerian and Margaret Streets. She has been educated with Valerian's financial support and has become an art history graduate of the Sorbonne in Paris, an expert on Cloisonné, and a cover model for *Elle*. Growing up in Valerian's household with limitless opportunities, and later getting an education in the cosmopolitan city of Paris, Jadine has little knowledge of the colonial

history of the island or the predicament of the contemporary black community. She does not have any interest in the history and culture of her people. She likes Ave Maria better than gospel music, and in her view "Picasso is better than an Itumba mask. The fact that he was intrigued by them is proof of his genius, not the mask-makers' " (*Tar Baby* 74). These remarks should not be taken as Morrison's race-inflected aesthetic judgement. Rather they should be taken as tremendous force of dominant culture that shapes and reshapes the choice for people belonging to minorities. The novel draws our attention to the identity crisis of a black woman whose Euro-centric education, initially lays many choices open to her. She is not definite about her plans. Sometimes she thinks of "opening a business of her own," either a "gallery" or a "boutique" but she is not certain about it (*Tar Baby* 49). She is not even certain of why her boyfriend wants to marry her; is it because she is a black girl, or it is she, a person, whom actually he wants to marry. She reflects: "I guess the person I want to marry is him, but I wonder if the person he wants to marry is me or a black girl?" (48). She thinks she is assured of her assumptions and choices of things that have led to her success. But she is not quite confident about it. Once in Paris, while she was shopping for a party to celebrate the occasion of her selection as a fashion model for the cover picture of the *Elle*, her self-confidence however seemed to have been wounded by a woman in yellow dress. The narrative voice describes the occasion as well as the stupefying effect of the woman on Jadine:

. . . a woman much too tall. . . . She had no arm basket or cart.
 . . . The woman leaned into the dairy section and opened a carton from which she selected three eggs. Then she put her right elbow into the palm of her left hand and held the eggs aloft between elbow and shoulder. She looked up then and they saw something in her eyes so powerful it had burnt away the eyelashes. (45)

Jadine was overwhelmed by that “woman’s woman—that mother/sister/she; that unphotographable beauty.” She followed her, but before the woman disappeared, she “turned her head sharply around to the left and looked right at Jadine. . . and, with a small parting of her lips, shot an arrow of saliva between her teeth down to the pavement and the hearts below” (46). The woman’s insulting gesture derailed Jadine; all her achievements seemed to have been washed away. Her sense of self-pride was wounded and somehow she felt troubled as if her sense of self-assurance and dignity got shattered by the woman in yellow robe, who seemed to be an emblem of womanliness, elegance, beauty, nurturance and authenticity that Jadine had never known before and certainly has not achieved. She moves from Paris and visits Nanadine and Uncle Sydney for Christmas. But there too, she is unable to free herself from the impression the woman created on her. The author says, “the woman had made her feel lonely in a way. Lonely and inauthentic” (48). Jadine’s condition as a privileged black girl invites several problems for constructing her own authentic identity. In her access to cultural and economic advantages and in her preference for whiteness Jadine has to struggle not only with Whiteness as dominant culture but also with her occasional awareness of Blackness that haunts her and makes her feel “lonely and inauthentic.” Throughout the novel the gaze of the traditional blackness, as embodied by African woman in ‘yellow’, Son and also his all-black home town Eloë, makes Jadine’s disposition of individualism stand out as “cultural disturbance” (Yuh-chuan Shao 563).

This is the predicament of an educated and privileged black woman, who in order to avail herself of all the conveniences of the Capitalist economy abandons her blackness and commodifies it in the fashionable market of New York and Paris. In an interview with Charles Ruas in 1981, Morrison commented on the creation of a character like Jadine:

This civilization of black people, which was underneath the white civilization, was there with its own everything. Everything of that civilization was not worth hanging on to, but some of it was, and nothing has taken its place black which is what everybody thought was the ultimate in integration. To produce Jadine, that's what it was for. I think there is some danger in the result of that production. It cannot replace certain essentials from the past. (105)

She becomes a colonized subject. As a fashion model she has surrendered to an aesthetic of commodification and as a student of art history, she has internalized the capitalist ethic of the white culture. By negating her blackness, her own culture she has no doubt ensured her freedom but she has also lost many valuable things. Once Morrison said, "When you kill the ancestor you kill yourself. I want to point out the dangers, to show that nice things don't always happen to the totally self-reliant if there is no conscious historical connection" ("Rootedness" 344). *Tar Baby* comes closest to *The Bluest Eye* by critiquing the dominant socioeconomic and cultural space from which the black women seem to have no escape. Pecola's failure to achieve selfhood in 1941 takes four decades more for Jadine to reach the goalpost. Pecola is convinced of her ugliness because evidence is everywhere, within and outside the home, whereas the evidence of Jadine's beauty is displayed on the cover page of fashion magazines, a smart marketing strategy of the dominating culture industry. While Pecola, in her struggle with the white notions of beauty, ultimately becomes a victim of internalization, Jadine is thoroughly happy with the definition of beauty, guaranteed by white standards because she "fits" into it. She struggles not against a white standard of female beauty, but against a black-defined standard of female beauty. Though it may appear that Jadine is more self-defined than Pecola, the two women, on deeper analysis, are merely the two sides of the same coin. As Jadine defines herself in terms of white social and cultural values, she seems to embody Alice Walker's construction of the black

women who is a bit educated and who is “pushed and pulled by the larger world outside of her, urged to assimilate (to be “raceless”) in order to overcome her background” (Washington 143). She has to pay for her conscious assimilation that borders on imitation. Trying to live the bourgeois way of life, Jadine seems to lose her sense of self-image or fails to create a solid identity for herself.

In the creation of Jadine Morrison has not simply warned us against the cultural assimilation that tends one to disconnect one from his/her historical, and communal heritage/ cultural roots, but also she has made us critical of the assumption that embracing race-based model of identity is just the solution for the dilemma, a new black generation faces in a post/modern consumer culture. We must consider the notion of "essential blackness," the relationship between an individual and community, and the tension between one's racial past and future in our exploration of the cultural significance of Jadine's ambiguous identity. In her attraction for white identity Jadine comes far away from the conventional idea of blackness, and attempts to define herself by conforming to the dominant cultural identity. Her insistence on freedom and individualism are most clearly seen in her confrontation with Son, Florida-born black man. The first meeting between Jadine and Son takes place in the former's bedroom. Wrapping herself from head to toe by the paper of “whiteness,” she fails to recognize that the man reflected in the mirror, belongs to her community. The narrative voice says, “She struggled to pull herself away from his image in the mirror and to yank her tongue from the roof of her mouth” (115). However, after a while she recovers herself from the shock and becomes eloquent about her popularity and success in the world of fashion. Her self pride and achievement come into question when Son and Jadine confront each other directly:

“How much?” he asked her. “Was it a lot?” His voice was quiet.
“What are you talking about? How much what?”

“Dick. That you had to suck, I mean to get all that gold and be in the movies. Or was it pussy? I guess for models it’s more pussy than cock.”

Jadine, infuriated by such an insulting remark, calls Son “an ignorant motherfucker” (121) and hits him in his face and on his heads. Thus Jadine desperately attempts to turn away from her cultural self, which is now in the risk of being exposed by Son’s challenge. She vents out her hatred for Son by calling him names, “ape,” “nigger,” “baboon,” “animal” and such behaviour of Jadine shows that she feels self-threatened by Son’s presence in the Streets’ house. She is unable to accept her own image as long as Son is in her room. When he leaves, Jadine feels an urgent desire to “clean him off her” (122). It is through Jadine that Morrison wants to focus on the dilemma of a contemporary African American female who happens to be a “cultural orphan,” whose sense of self is based on a denial of her own cultural heritage and identification with an alien one. The central conflict that Jadine faces in the search for her authenticity is no more so clearly articulated than in the passage where the Caribbean island swamp literally entraps her in the black, sticky substance:

The women looked down from the rafters of the trees hanging in the trees looked down and stopped murmuring. They were delighted when they first saw her, thinking a runaway child had been restored to them. . . . This girl was fighting to get away from them. The women hanging from the trees were quiet now, but arrogant--mindful as they were of their value, their exceptional femaleness; knowing as they did that the first world of the world had been built with their sacred properties. . . (183).

For Morrison, the women in trees symbolise the women, who with their “ancient properties,” “exceptional femaleness” hold the community together

like tar, and they are those women to whom the novel is dedicated. In her interview with Thomas Le Clair Morrison said, "For me, the tar baby came to mean the black woman who can hold things together. The story was a point of departure to history and prophecy. That's what I mean by dusting off the myth, looking closely at it to see what it might conceal. . . .(122) Choosing to escape from her cultural bondage, Jadine decides to cut herself off the past and move on to a better life in her parting remarks to Son: "You stay in that medieval slave basket if you want to. You will stay there by yourself. Don't ask me to do it with you. I won't. There's nothing any of us can do about the past but make our own lives better. . . . (*Tar Baby* 271). Through the disparity between the past and the future and conflict between the individual and the community, Morrison seems to ask whether black people should turn their back on their past or stick to it in order to form their self authentic identity.

Morrison consciously uses folklores, archetypes, and mythic forms which are directly and indirectly related to communal properties and richness of black culture. She also notes in her interview with Claudia Tate,

The black community is a pariah community. Black people are pariahs. The civilization of black people that lives apart from but in juxtaposition to other civilization is a pariah relationship. In fact, the concept of the black in this country is almost always one of the pariah. But a community contains pariahs within it that are very useful for the conscience of that community. (129)

Through the paradox of the pariah Morrison wants to evoke what is inadequate in the community, what it has lost and what is causing its decadence. The sustaining values of black woman-hood, its tar-like qualities to hold things together and its nurturing qualities for the survival of the whole community--are evoked by the paradox of the pariah. Jadine, the twentieth century African American heroine, takes those "tar-like qualities"

as impediments to her search for individualism because she does not want, as she says, to settle herself for “wifely competence when she could be almighty, to settle for fertility rather than originality, nurturing instead of building” (*Tar Baby* 269). The novel levels Jadine’s feminist point of view from Son’s perspective. Son does not understand what Jadine means by sexual equality. The narrative voice says, “She kept barking at him about equality, sexual equality, as though he thought women were inferior.” It is from Son’s point of view that Morrison tells about the history of black women’s struggle that the politics of feminism never includes. The rural black women do not need the support of liberal feminism, which Jadine defends. She will never realize the history of these black women who have to go through unending physical strife to overcome poverty. In her blind assimilation of Euro-American culture Jadine loses her “ancient properties.” Almost at the end of the novel Therese alerts Son to forget her: “There is nothing in her parts for you. She has forgotten her ancient properties” (305). In reconstructing the image of black womanhood Jadine is deliberately used as the conscience of the community to alert the new world community how it is coming far away from the healing zone of its “ancient properties.”

According to Gurleen Grewal, “Son and Jadine are implicated in double roles as both snarer and ensnared” (87). Son is a snarer whose blackness Jadine confronts. Finding herself in the predicament of the Brer rabbit, she struggles with tar, her blackness, as evidenced in the scene mentioned earlier. Both are engaged to trap each other by their own tricks: Jadine by her Euro-centric idealism while Son by his romanticization of Eloë. What is interesting in the narrative is that Son is sharing folk tales with her. These folk tales are part of African American cultural heritage, and by telling her the stories of “The Fox and the Stork”, “The Monkey and the Lion”, “The Spider Goes to Market” he insists her to reshape her identity, based on African American cultural heritage. By inserting the folk aesthetic into the narrative as a counter-myth to the values that

Jadine has adopted, Morrison makes Son play the role of the Brer rabbit: "He saw it all as a rescue: first tearing her mind away from that blinding awe. Then the physical escape from the plantation" (219). Jadine also in her role of "entrapper" perceives the changing scenario of their relationship as if providing Son rescue from his provincial and nostalgic outlook. But despite her efforts, "he insisted on Eloë" (223). Son hopes that he will be able to reorient Jadine by making her familiar with the riches of black cultural heritage when he takes her to Eloë. In Eloë, however, her experience seems to be intolerable for her. She ultimately finds Eloë as 'rotten' and 'a burnt-out place'. For Jadine and Son, the inability of each to adjust with the other results in bitter confrontation, which unmasks their pretension and reveals the stark reality. Jadine thinks that she is indebted to Valerian for being educated by her, but Son reminds her that it is her aunt and uncle who, with their lifetime's labour, have secured all privileges for her. Their attempt of rescuing each other is criticized by the author thus: "Mama-spoiled black man, will you mature with me? Culture-bearing black woman, whose culture are you bearing?" (269) Their relationship breaks down. None was certain of his/her responsibilities, what work they should do, when and where, and thus they got separated from each other. Grewal opines, "This impasse between them is symptomatic of a larger crisis of the third world locked in the arms of the first" (89).

Neither Son nor Jadine realises that it is possible for them to be economically successful as well as faithful to their rich cultural heritage. In the introductory essay to *Racing Justice, En-gendering Power*, Morrison noted, "the problem of internalizing the master's tongue is the problem of the rescued. Unlike the problems of survivors, who may be lucky, fated, etc., the rescued have the problem of debt. If the rescuer gives you back your life, he shares in that life" (xxv). Jadine is the typical representative of that "rescued" who reminds Son "a million times" (*Tar Baby* 269) that Valerian had put her to school. Her Euro-centric education

has taught her to adopt a self- alienating cultural view which she also wants to impose on Son in the name of “rescuing” him. Though Son does not want to succumb to white hegemonic ideals of commodity consumption, he cannot avoid the authorial criticism for his outmoded and unrealistic attitude as evident in his idealization of the black woman in her maternal role. Son’s sentiments for his past, for his all-black town Eloë, cannot offer a solution at a time when it is difficult for one to know better his/her own self. The problem is that not only does the “benevolent” white erode the black’s self-identity in the pretension of rescuing him/her from the brutality of slavery but also succeeds in making the “rescued” his active agent for trapping those who are left “unrescued.”

Tar Baby focuses on a variety of relationships within Valerian’s house: between Valerian and his wife Margaret, between Sydney and Ondine, between the Childs and their jet-setter niece Jadine, between the indoor and outdoor servants, i.e. between Sydney/Ondine and Gideon/Therese. Philip Page in his essay “Everyone was out of Place: Contention and Dissolution in *Tar Baby*” says, “The Street household resembles a stereotypical antebellum plantation, with its aristocratic and bigoted patriarch, its neurotic white lady, its house servants caught between class superiority. . .” (112). Valerian, the king of this “structured family” has accumulated his wealth out of the candy business. He is a typical capitalist who has made his fortune by exploiting the labour of the African people. The novel calls into question the idea of equality that has been made naturalized by white hegemony. Harold. M. Hodges opines, “Most (Americans) are at least vaguely conscious of the truth that however loudly we proclaim the ideal of equality, we are a stratified people: that ours is in fact a multi-layered society, a hierarchical society. . .”(x). Within this “superstructure” of the Streets home Margaret, “the Principal Beauty of Maine,” is one of the many subordinates. She relies upon her physical beauty to accomplish everything. Below the rank of Margaret, are Valerian’s servants, Sydney and Ondine, who have developed a sense of superiority

over Gideon and Therese, the outdoor servants. Instead of identifying them with their own people, they internalize their master's racist outlook. Sydney betrays his sense of superior class consciousness, one of the germs inflicted by the scythe of Capitalism, when he says to Son, "I am a Phil-a-delphia Negro mentioned in the book of the very same name. My people owned drugstores and taught school while yours were still cutting their faces open so as to be able to tell one of you from the other" (*Tar Baby* 163). He calls Gideon and Therese "Yardman" and "Mary" respectively as his master does and in this way he tries to maintain a distinction between him and his people. Although they identify themselves with their master and share his racist attitude, they can never be on equal terms with their master. While Sydney and Ondine fill up the hierarchical class structure of indoor house-servants, Gideon and Therese fill up that of outdoor field servants.

The pernicious effect of racism on one's cultural self and identity has been accurately measured by E.B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk*: ". . . the Negro is . . . born with a veil, and gifted with second sight in this American world,--a world which yields him no true self consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. . . ." (45). Some eighty years after Du Bois first coined the term, the Kenyan writer/critic Ngugi wa Thiong'o detailed the features and lingering consequences of this outcome, placing it in a global context: "The effect of the cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves" (3). Morrison's depiction of relationships in the plantation household of Valerian Streets significantly exposes the ways Imperialism wields its weapon "cultural bomb" to construct a self-alienating materialist world view that takes one far from his/her 'roots,' and entraps one into its design. Jadine's apparent success may appear to be laudable and appropriate in avoiding the sufferings and struggle that the black women have ever

faced, but Morrison's critique of this black daughter is unmistakable. Her education, instead of being used for the uplift of her people, is used rather as a means of "integrating" herself into an alien culture that betrays an ignorance of black history. Her education represents an investment that produces a bourgeois educated class, distinguished from working class. She disowns responsibility to Sydney and Ondine: "You are asking me to parent you. Please don't. I can't do that now" (281).

In reconstructing a solid identity for black woman through Jadine Morrison has both celebrated her quality of independence and individuality, and the uniqueness of authentic black womanhood, as represented by the woman in 'yellow,' women in trees and night women at Eloë. Mobley has pointed out that on the one hand Morrison wants to "affirm the self-reliance and freedom of a black woman who makes choices for her own life on her own terms"; on the other "she also seeks to 'point out dangers. . . that can happen to the totally self-reliant if there is no historical connection' " (284). Jadine's search for self fulfilment must be carried alongside the construction of black heritage. In Morrison's prophetic vision Jadine's search for freedom and happiness signifies a communal dream and a cultural reorientation, rather than a personal goal of self realization. In the commencement address, delivered at Bernard College in 1979, Morrison said,

I am suggesting that we pay as much attention to our nurturing sensibilities as to our ambition. You are moving in the direction of freedom and the function of freedom is to free somebody else. You are moving toward self-fulfillment and the consequences of that fulfillment should be to discover that there is something that is just as important as you are. (qtd. in Mobley 286)

In her resistance to commodity culture Morrison, in *Tar Baby* has envisioned the betterment for her people by juxtaposing Son and Jadine who try

to fulfil their goals in their own manner. Both are unique in their characteristics and both can contribute to the regeneration of their community: "one had a past, the other a future and each bore the culture to save the race in his hands," the narrative voice asserts (269). In the quest for her individuality Jadine flies back to Paris where she will begin at "Go." With her growing maturity she has come to realize what Ondine once had told her: "A grown woman did not need safety or its dream. She was the safety she longed for" (209). In the quest for her new life she would be able, as it is hoped, to face the odds with her growing awareness of a solid identity, forged with the "sacred qualities" of "ancestral tar babies/ tar mothers," because, as Morrison says in her interview with Ruas, "She now knows enough--she hasn't opened the door, but she knows where the door is" (108). The novel ends with Son running "Lickety-split. Lickety-split. Lickety-lickety-lickety-spilt" (306), which may be read as a metaphor of his emergent self-consciousness that encourages him to proceed further instead of locking himself in a suspended past. Thus the novel ends signalling new passage for both Jadine and Son, new black generation, who, ultimately by gaining their personal freedom will activate the idealism of American dream that celebrates the spirit of individualism by embracing the black racial, cultural, and communal values.

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Pre-college Study Abroad and Its New Impact on Korean Mothers

Ji-Yeon Lee
(University of Kansas)

■ ABSTRACT ■

This study examines pre-college study abroad (PSA, *Chogi yuhak*), which is one of the fastest growing phenomena among the various efforts for Koreans to learn English. The discussion includes the reasons why PSA has become so popular in the last decade under the name of globalization, the problems it has caused, and its new impact that this phenomenon has on Korean mothers. This study argues that PSA boom provides Korean mothers with an opportunity to pursue their own self-realization by studying abroad with their school aged children. These “new wild geese” mothers, who make double investments in their own education as well as in their children’s in the U.S. represent important aspects of the contemporary Korean society regarding education, gender and neoliberal social atmosphere.

Key Words

pre-college study abroad, wild geese mother, English education, family, Korean society

I. Introduction

“The Republic of English” is a nickname for Korea, where English language mastery is believed to be one of the most important keys to a successful career, from entering and graduating from prestigious universities to getting a job and surviving in the job market longer than competitors. This competition starts as early as kindergarten. English-language kindergartens are very popular nowadays, despite the cost being several times as expensive as ordinary kindergartens. Interest in private English institutes and tutoring has only increased nationwide, despite the enormous expense involved. Chun and Choi (2006) reported that Koreans spent 15 trillion *won* (approximately 15 billion dollars) for English education in 2005 alone. Moreover, several cities and provinces have competitively built English-language “villages” where Korean learners of English can experience “America” in their home country. Some politicians in Korea have proposed huge investments in public English education in order to gain the popular vote, and various private English education markets keep thriving while taking advantage of this English-language fever (Shim and Park 2008).

Moreover, many Korean families, if they can afford to, have been jumping on the Pre-college study abroad (PSA) (*Chogi yuhak*) bandwagon by sending their young children to English-speaking countries since the mid-1990s. The term, PSA, can be defined as the study abroad of first through twelfth grade students who have not yet graduated from a high school, which lasts more than six months (Kim 2005). Usually the students’ mothers go with their children to a foreign country and take care of them while their fathers stay in Korea and work to support their family overseas. If the students are older, around high school age, they are often sent by themselves where they stay with a host family or attend a boarding school. Among the various efforts for Koreans to learn English, it is PSA which is one of the fastest growing and the most unique phenomena in Korea. It also clearly represents the interwoven factors of English

education in Korea with different levels of society and scholarship such as the national government's emphasis on English education, correlation between economic wealth and English proficiency, parents' zeal for English education even when it sacrifices traditional roles of family, and academic support for early English education at least in the linguistic aspects.

Therefore, this paper focuses on PSA and examines the reasons why PSA has become so popular in the last decade under the name of globalization, the problems it has caused, and its new impact that this phenomenon has on Korean mothers. This study argues that PSA boom provides Korean mothers with an opportunity to pursue their own self-realization by studying abroad with their school age children. The researcher calls these mothers "new wild geese" mothers, who are different from traditional "wild geese" mothers in that they are pursuing their own academic degrees while raising their children in the U.S. These women make double investments in their own education as well as in their children's, and they represent two important aspects of the contemporary Korean society: the popularity of sending children overseas for the sake of their English education and the competitive social atmosphere in Korea, where individuals require endless self-development for upward class mobility.

II. Literature review

Pre-college study abroad (PSA)

In the past, PSA students had mostly upper-class family backgrounds, but the trend has spread to less well-off classes, resulting in dramatic increases in the number of these students in the 2000s, as shown in Figure 1. It was not until the mid-1990s when PSA programs started attracting the general public's attention with the increase of globalization, in general, manifested by Kim Young Sam's government and with the introduction of English language as a required subject in elementary school in 1997, in particular. The number of PSA students declined in 1998 because of

the Asian Debt Crisis¹⁾ that occurred in 1997. Since then, the number of these students increased drastically up to 2006, when nearly four out of every one-thousand Korean students (29,511) traveled overseas for study, fifteen times the figure in 1999 and 0.38 percent of the total first through twelfth grade students in Korea.

However, it should be noted that these statistics calculated the number of only “illegal” PSA students. In fact, technically, most cases of PSA are illegal in Korea since only high school students who have completed middle school are allowed to study abroad. For 1-9th grade students, it is legal only when both parents go abroad together in case of work abroad or immigration. In 2002, among the PSA students, 94% of the elementary students and 96% of the middle school students were categorized as illegal PSA (Kim 2005). However, most parents and school teachers are not aware of this regulation. From the survey on Korean people’s consciousness of PSA, almost 80% of the parents and 70% of school teachers answered that they did not know if there is a regulation about PSA (Kim 2005). Moreover, there is no penalty for violations. In other words, there is no legal deterrent to stop people from sending their children away.

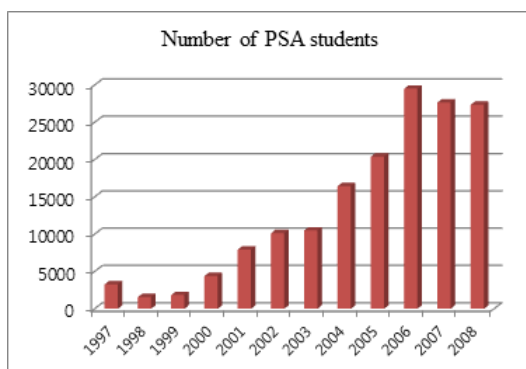


Fig. 1. Number of PSA students (1st -12th grades) in Korea from 1997 to 2008 (Based on the information from Kim 2005 and KEDI 2010).

1) Koreans are more familiar with the term, IMF (International Monetary Fund) crisis, than Asian Debt Crisis.

When we add “legal” PSA students, who study abroad with both parents due to their parent(s)’ work abroad or immigration, to the number of “illegal” PSA students discussed above, the number of PSA students, for example, in 2008 increases to 40,961. That is, as many as 112 Korean 1-12th grade students flew out of country every day to study abroad in that year. In addition, Park (2010) estimates approximately 10,000 pre-K children also went to English speaking countries every year. Even though it is hard to know the exact number of PSA pre-K children, Park’s estimation is not surprising given that the youngest group, elementary school students, is the biggest group among PSA students followed by middle school and high school students in order (KEDI 2010).

1.1. More than learning English

The question that remains to be answered is why that many Koreans travel abroad for study. Obviously, the first reason is to learn English more intensely and earlier than others and the best way to learn a foreign language is believed to study it in an immersion environment. Research supports the benefits of early exposure to foreign languages – the earlier, the better. For example, according to the Critical Period Hypothesis, once one passes puberty, it is very hard, if not impossible, to attain a native like fluency in a target language (Lenneberg, 1967).

Moreover, people learn from their own experience that younger children learn a foreign language better than older ones or adults. Especially when they witness good proficiency of PSA students returning to Korea, they confirm their belief. Sending young children to English-speaking countries for schooling is thus regarded as the best option for parents to secure their children’s success in English language proficiency, ideally well before puberty. This view also supports the concept that English language should be taught earlier than the middle school level. Indeed, in Korea, in 1997 English became a required subject starting from the third grade (Lee 2008).

English education in public schools, however, is very limited in terms

of class hours. Only three to four hours per week is not enough for students to acquire English skills at the level they need for competitive college and work requirements. Because students need more exposure to an English-speaking environment, students seek private English education. It can be extremely expensive to study English with native speakers of English in Korea. Studying abroad in English-speaking countries is therefore not a bad option at all because it provides students with a cultural experience as well, which is hard to get in Korea.

In response to this problem, there was a boom in the construction of English Villages, where people can experience a simulated western environment with restaurants, houses, post offices, shops, and even immigration offices, without leaving Korea. This project seems to be financially and politically motivated as much as linguistic in nature, because their inception was targeted to address the dilemma faced by parents who could not afford their children's PSA (Shim & Park 2008), and to reduce the investment of these citizens in overseas schools. For example, in 2002, Son Hakgyu, a candidate for the *Kyōnggi* province governor, captured many parents' dilemma by saying, "Sending your child overseas is too costly, and not sending your child breaks your heart," and proposed to "build an English village where one can live with foreigners speaking only English, so that your children can receive an English education that is as practical as sending them overseas" (Son 2002, cited in Shim & Park 2008:151).

It turns out, however, that such English villages have not been successful. Due to the enormous cost of construction and maintenance and low usage by citizens, many English villages have been suffering from a huge deficit. For example, among the three English villages run by the *Kyonggi* province, two have already been taken over by private companies and the last one is very likely to be in the same situation soon because the government cannot afford to deal with the continuous deficits of as much as 4.1 million dollars in 2008, 6.3 million dollars in 2009, and 2.9 million dollars

in 2010 (Kim 2011). Shim and Park (2008) claimed that the low usage of English Village by citizens indicated that, through learning English, Koreans are seeking not linguistic competence itself, but the socio-economic and cultural advantages that can be earned through “the symbolic capital of English” (152). Therefore, Koreans do not consider English villages as a workable alternative to PSA because the villages do not provide the prestige of studying overseas. Foreign cultural experience is a key component of study abroad, as is the prestige associated with this level of sophistication and ambition in pursuing an education overseas.

1.2. No pain, no gain?

As discussed above, there are benefits that PSA can provide to visiting students, largely English proficiency, global experience, and sometimes improved chances of entering good American universities. On the other hand, it causes some problems. For one thing, it is very expensive. According to Kim (2005), 49.25 percent of survey respondents said that they spent 10,000 to 20,000 dollars per year for PSA and 23.1 percent said they spent 20,000 to 30,000 dollars per year. In addition, 26.2 percent of the respondents replied that their PSA expense is 21 to 30 percent of their annual income. Only those children whose parents can pay these expenses are able to join the PSA programs, whereas other children rely on less-expensive ways of learning English, such as English institutes, worksheets (Park and Abelman 2004) or on-line tutorials. This phenomenon has led to the intensification of the class divide in Korean society. By sending their children abroad with PSA programs, upper-middle class families secure their children’s English proficiency, essential to entering respectable universities and getting a good job, while the students from lower socio-economic family backgrounds are likely to have lower English proficiency, and, as a result, it is very difficult for them to find a way to move up from their parents’ social class.

Another problem is the enormous difficulties that young students go through in adjusting to the new environment without someone who can

adequately take care of their needs. From the analysis of extensive interviews with PSA students, parents, guardians, and teachers in Canada, Cho (2011) found that Korean international students who are doing PSA without parents were suffering from emotional difficulties. She pointed out the main sources of these problems include parents' ignorance about PSA life and unrealistic expectations on their children's performance, lack of quality care by guardians or host families, and the absence of communication between teachers and parents. It should be also noted that PSA students' difficulties do not just disappear when they return to Korea and to their parents' care. They face the challenge of adjusting themselves back to the highly competitive and intensive Korean school system, which also exhibits a strict attitude about teacher-student relations. In addition, especially for younger students, it is a big problem for these returning students to catch up on their Korean language skills (Park 2010).

These PSA students are not the sole "victims" of this extreme pressure to succeed. Their parents and family members also suffer. For example, after mothers move to English-speaking countries with their children, the fathers are left alone in Korea working to support PSA expenses. It is estimated that there are 500,000 wild geese fathers in 2010 according to *Statistics Korea*. (Kim 2013). Due to the loneliness and stress involved in managing one's life without a wife, some wild geese fathers have health problems or extramarital affairs, and some in extreme circumstances even commit suicide. It is thus not uncommon in Korea to witness family breakdown caused by the PSA programs. Cho (2005) described emotional toll they take:

A central paradox in the maintenance of Korean gireogi [wild geese] families is the fact that the achievement of security for the sake of the children goes hand-in-hand with an increase in emotional insecurity between couples, as well as between fathers and children. As such, parents discuss the sacrifices they make for their children, they eventually

reveal their anxiety over the highly volatile Korean economy, as well as the uncertain future of their family relations (25).

These Korean families are seen to willingly embrace hardship for the sake of their children's education, regarding it as insurance or a worthy investment for their future in the unstable Korean economy. This reveals the extent to which neoliberalism is prevalent in the Korean society nowadays. Song (2009) defined neoliberalism as "an advanced liberal mode of governing that idealizes efficiency and productivity by promoting people's free will and self-sufficiency" (2009: x)²). Under this prevailing neoliberal ethos, in which one should assume the responsibility of being a capable citizen in order to secure one's well-being under less government control and support, some Korean "wild geese" families live apart and send their children and mothers overseas to pursue not only the children's education, but also the mothers' advanced education, as is the case with the four women introduced below in this study. The researcher calls these women "new wild geese" mothers, who pursue their own academic degree while also supporting their children's English education in an English speaking country.

2) By examining the emergence and practice of the neoliberal welfare state in Korea at the time of the Asian Debt Crisis (1997-2001) and the Kim Dae Jung presidency (1998-2003), she argued that the neoliberal regime divided people into those individuals who were "deserving" and "undeserving" of welfare benefits: the former are those who could become self-sufficient and independent citizens, usually males and youths (who can work for the high technology-information fields, for example), and the latter are those who have been already marginalized, mostly homeless women, who are not surprisingly regarded as irresponsible wives or mothers. That is, even the public assistance system is designed mainly for the people who can quickly rehabilitate and become independent and self-sufficient, not for all citizens who are in need of help to achieve minimally decent standard of living.

III. Methods

Among the possible candidates (Korean female graduate students at a mid-western university in the U.S. A. who are married with children while their husbands stay in Korea), the researcher chose four women based on how well their lives and backgrounds represent the characteristics of “new wild geese” mothers and how willing they were to share their stories with the researcher. We can classify these four subjects into two groups: one with M.A. students who have full time jobs as English language teachers in Korea and took two years of study leave to come here with their school-aged children and the other with Ph.D students with preschool-aged children whose husbands have finished their degrees earlier and returned to Korea for work.

The two primary data collection methods for this ethnographic research are participant observation and in-depth interviews. (Kottak 2007) Because the four women in this study and the researcher attended the same university (and even majoring in the same subject in the case of three of them), resided in the same on-campus housing, sent children to the same elementary or preschools, and (in case of all but one) went to the only Korean church in town, the researcher was able to observe many of their life events from the first day they arrived until their last day here, when they left for Korea or another state. The researcher had a relatively close relationship with them and built a rapport which allowed her to interview them about their personal stories in a candid manner. All interviews were semi-structured, conducted in Korean and translated into English by the researcher. Thematic analysis method was used to analyze the data and find the major themes (Braun and Clarke 2006.)

IV. Analysis & Discussion

“New Wild Geese” Mothers

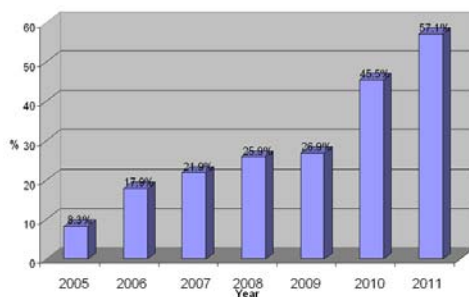
The trend of “wild geese” families (or Korean transnational families in which the mother and the children live overseas while the father stays in Korea to provide financial support for the family abroad) began to attract Korea’s mass media’s attention and it has been widely covered as an important social and cultural issue since the late 1990s. As Cho (2004) described, most wild geese mothers are full-time housewives who stay with their children overseas.³⁾ They generally have middle- or upper-middle class family backgrounds with stable sources of income from their husbands, and most of them are college graduates. Unlike these mothers, the subjects in this study are much more serious about their own education and personal development. The primary purpose for these mothers to come to the U.S. is to pursue their own academic degree while also supporting their children’s English education. As a study-abroad student in the U.S., the researcher noticed that the number of this type of student has increased significantly over the last eight years at this institution, where in 2005, the majority of Korean married women were

3) Based on motivation and backgrounds of the families, Cho (2004) divided wild geese families into five types: (1) The parents have no experience living abroad, but the mother is able to get her own admission in a U.S. school and the father is able to provide financial support for the family living abroad; (2) The fathers and/or mothers have studied or lived abroad previously, where the fathers typically come to the U.S. as overseas branch managers or visiting scholars with their families, and then return home, leaving their family in the U.S.; (3) The children come to the U.S. first to study English, and their mothers visit them with a traveler’s visa and stay with them in the U.S. until the end of their study; (4) The fathers have a business/branch office in the U.S. while living in Korea, and send their wives and children to the U.S., allowing them frequent visits to the family; and (5) The mothers hold permanent residency status and/or the children were born in the U.S., granting them U.S. citizenship.

full-time housewives, whose sole mission was supporting their student-husbands and/or their children. Since then, the percentage of this kind of family has continuously grown among the Korean student-families on campus (Lee 2011).⁴⁾ These student-mothers are aware of the difference between themselves and the more typical “wild geese” mothers. For instance, one of the interviewees shared her experience of encountering one of these mothers, who enrolled in college yet only worked enough to avoid failing grades and subsequent expulsion:

My family is not a typical wild geese [family]. When we say wild geese [family], that means men work alone to provide financial support and they send the rest of the family overseas. Usually mothers enroll in a school so that the children get a F2 visa and they don't have to pay tuition, you know. I heard that that's why there are many mothers who enroll in community college to learn English. ... Here in Kansas, we have only a few of those mothers because it's not a popular place [for wild geese families, compared to East or West coast regions], but when I traveled to the NASA Museum in Houston, Texas last summer, I met some Korean women. While we were chatting, they told me about how many times they can miss their classes without getting a failing grade. Since I am in an M.A. program, I didn't know about that. A little bit later, they said “Ah-ha! It is you [not your

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- 4) The percentage of Korean wild geese mother-students among Korean students with family living on campus.



children] who came here to study.” They were just trying to keep their [student] visa status by carefully and strategically monitoring the number of absences [to avoid failure]. Paying the mothers’ tuition at a community college seems to be cheaper than paying the children’s. (Interview with Ms. B)

In sharing her experience, Ms. B clearly distinguishes her own case from the case of “name- only student” mothers. The surprised reaction of the “name only-students” toward Ms. B’s atypical dual purpose in coming to the U.S. indicates that they too perceive the difference between their motivations and that of Ms. B and others like her.

It is understandable that regional differences in the U.S. are related to the various populations of “wild geese” mothers. Typical “wild geese” families prefer to stay in East or West coast regions, largely because of the large Korean communities present on the coasts. This makes it easier for newly arrived mothers to get information, help, and support while living abroad, and to find a community of friends. In addition, many of these established communities are near prestigious universities. The children of these families also benefit because areas near prestigious universities generally have high-quality K-12 schools and test prep schools. But the subjects in this study prefer the benefits of attending a reputable public university in small Midwestern college towns, such as relatively low living expenses as well as a safer environment.

The four interviewees of this study are divided into two types, mothers with school-aged children and mothers with preschool-aged children. As summarized in Table 1, the mothers with school-aged children are students in M. A. programs who took a two-year study-leave from their jobs as English language teachers in Korean public schools. They both won a very competitive national scholarship to support their study and expenses abroad, where they use these funds not only for their own study, but also to support the living costs of their school-aged children. The two

mothers with preschool-aged children are doctoral students whose husbands were also students in this same institution. Their husbands finished their doctoral degrees earlier than the interviewees either because their program required fewer years to finish than that of their wives (Ms. C), or because they started the program earlier than their wives (Ms. D) and thus returned to Korea for employment.

Type	Mothers with school-aged children		Mothers with preschool-aged children	
Subject	Ms. A	Ms. B	Ms. C	Ms. D
Pursing degree	M.A.		Ph.D.	
Age	42	43	36	39
Children's age	9,12	7,11	1,4	3, 7
Job	Elementary school English teacher	Middle school English teacher	Ministry of education (in the past)	Private institutes (in the past)
Work period	15 years	16 years	6 years	A few years
Major reason for parents-in-law's support	Children's English study abroad		Not favorable situation for study abroad but expect to get a good job	

Table 1. Two types of Korean mother-students in this study and their characteristics
(The information regarding age and the years is as of the time of interviews)

The importance of examining these mothers is closely related to the understanding of changes in Korean society in recent decades, many of which reflect worldwide trends regarding women's roles and rights. Was it possible in the 1960s or the 1970s for Korean wives to leave their husbands alone and travel with their children to the other side of the world to advance their own academic degrees? The chances were indeed very slim, if not impossible, given that the demarcation between traditional women's roles as housewives and men's roles as breadwinners was very clear. The most popular ideology of an ideal womanhood in society was

presented as being a “wise mother and good wife,” a concept promoted at the turn of the twentieth century through what has been identified as a “convergence of Chosŏn Korea’s Confucian notion of *pudŏk* (“womanly virtue”), Japan’s Meiji gender ideology of *ryōsai kenbo* (“good wife and wise mother”), and American Protestant missionary women’s ideology of domesticity in mission schools” (Choi 2009).

This emphasis in Korea on women’s obedience to the head of the family and confinement within the domestic sphere was challenged in 1990s during the blossoming of Korean feminism, as more and more women pursued their own professional jobs and expanded their boundaries to opportunities outside of the home. But this blossoming of women’s rights ended shortly after it began, when the International Monetary Fund’s economic crisis struck Korean society in late 1990s. As Song (2009) argued, “The feminist discourse on women’s independence was severely contested ... in the face of the national emergency” and “[women were] forced to retreat to private domains” (51). Even though many more women than men were laid off during the national crisis, the loss of the fathers’ jobs and, in turn, the loss of their economic power was considered more serious while the traditional women’s role as subservient and obedient individuals promoted in Confucian patriarchal ideology was emphasized (Song 2009).

So what made it possible for more mothers to study abroad than before at the expense of their roles as wives? How did they get “permission” from their husbands, parents, and even parents-in-law, who could not even imagine their sons cooking for themselves after marriage? One of the most important factors that enabled women to travel abroad was the increased importance of their children’s English education. Other family members thus came to support these women’s education in English-speaking countries because it provides their children or grandchildren with a PSA opportunity, and a chance to learn English in an immersion setting. Moreover, it is agreed among family members that the mothers’ advanced

education would greatly benefit the family by enhancing her value in the job market, and in turn, the family's upward class mobility.

Mothers with School-aged Children: Killing two birds with one stone

From interviews with mothers who have school-aged children, the researcher sees PSA as an important factor for their emotional support from family members. They secure their extended family members' endorsements more than mothers with preschool-aged children. The mothers with school-aged children thus take advantage of the PSA boom in order to benefit their own study-abroad experience. In the case of Ms. A, who worked as an elementary school teacher in Korea for fifteen years, her husband had been present during the first year of her two-year study here. At the time of the interview, she lived with their ten year-old son and seven year-old daughter, as her husband, a university professor on sabbatical leave, returned to his job in Korea. Ms. A's study abroad was funded by the Korean government. She described how fortunate she was because she could study abroad with her family, especially with her two school-aged children:

I was lucky because my husband took his sabbatical year at the same time I started my study abroad. He helped a lot in the first year when I needed to adapt to the new environment. And my children's ages were just perfect [for PSA]. So many people were envious and jealous of me . . . Any objections from my parents-in-law? Why would they disagree with this great opportunity? Most of all, this is good for my children. They can improve their English. (Interview with Ms. A)

Regarding the ideal age for PSA, Ms. A noted that it is widely believed that elementary school children benefit the most. If a child is younger, he or she may not retain his or her English language after returning to Korea, but it is much more difficult for an older student to acquire

a foreign language.⁵⁾ More importantly, it would be very hard for them to prepare for the very high standards of the Korean college entrance exams if they studied abroad during middle or high school. Right after mentioning the benefits of her children's English education in the U.S., Ms. A clearly addressed another reason for her study abroad: personal and intellectual development in understanding more about her field:

Also, this opportunity is a good stepping stone for self-realization. I have studied English on my own for a long time, but it was not effective. Therefore, I really wanted to have an academic and theoretical foundation for studying and teaching English. I wanted to find out what the professors here are thinking about English education. (Interview with Ms. A)

According to Cho (2002), this generation of women is well educated and has a strong desire for personal development as scholars and professionals in their own right, while their grandmother's generation is described as "motherly women" and their mother's generation as "modern wives."

Like Ms. A, Ms. B is also pursuing her M.A. and has been teaching English in Korean middle schools for sixteen years. She came here in the summer of 2010 with her nine- and five year-old sons while her husband was working in Korea. She won the same kind of scholarship as Ms. A, where her tuition and living expenses were covered by the Korean government. She explained that other family members agreed that she should study abroad, but only because of the strict two-year time limit granted by the government scholarship policy, and the importance of her children's English education:

5) According to the Critical Period Hypothesis and studies in brain development, older learners of a second language rarely achieve native-like fluency.

It seems that I am a little bit different from other wild geese families. Usually they said that they planned to stay for one or two years when they came here, but as time goes on they think that if they stay a little longer their children's English will be a lot better, so they extend their period. One year becomes two years and two years becomes three years, like that. And sometimes this causes social problems, such as deterioration of the family. But in my case, I *have to* go back to Korea in two years, and am required to work at least two more years in the same institution where I used to work. If not, I will have to reimburse all the money I received from the government. Therefore, my husband said that he would be okay with me going as long as it was only two years. My parents-in-law also allowed me to study abroad because I brought the kids, I guess. If I had said I wanted to study abroad by myself, they would have opposed it. (Interview with Ms. B)

It is not uncommon for wild goose families to extend their stay in the U.S. for a year or more than they planned (Cho 2004). As Ms. B distinguished herself from a "name-only student," she also differentiated herself from other wild geese families who extend their stay overseas for the sake of their children's English language improvement. Regarding her own self-development, Ms. B expressed her aspiration of "cosmopolitan striving" (Park and Ablemann 2004) or acculturalization, whereas Ms. A showed her strong desire to study English educational theory and practice in the U.S. in addition to advancing her children's English language skills:

Personally, my first purpose for studying abroad was not studying [per se], but living in a different culture. ... I have always wanted to live in a culture other than Korea before I die. That's why I came here, and plus, English training for my kids. (Interview with Ms. B)

These mothers clearly show their double desire during their study abroad: their children's English training and personal advancement. As an English

teacher, Ms. A wants to build a firm academic foundation about English education, and Ms. B mentioned that she always dreamt of living in another country.

Mothers with Preschool-aged Children: Struggling under patriarchy

Ms. C is a doctoral student whose four-year-old daughter is living with her in the U.S. and her eight month-old son, at the time of the interview, was living with her husband and parents-in-law in Korea. She came here in 2009 with her daughter and her husband, a doctoral student in law school. Her husband went back to his job in Korea with their infant son in the summer of 2011 after finishing his degree. Her two sisters-in-law had been doing PSA in a boarding high school, which is located one hour from her residence. Ms. C started her study abroad because her husband encouraged her to study and, importantly, she won a scholarship to cover her tuition and living expenses. But unlike others interviewed, she did not gain her parents-in-law's approval to study abroad. If she had a school-aged child, it would have been easier for her to gain their support:

My parents-in-laws do not understand why I want to study abroad. In fact, they did not know that I was also studying here [as well as her husband] in America for the past two years until my mother-in-law visited here [last year]...Because she did not know I was studying, she sent my sisters-in-law as PSA...Now my parents-in-law are raising my baby boy and it's very hard, you know. So they don't like me. They said that I'm cold-blooded and I have no maternal instinct.
(Interview with Ms. C)

Without school-aged children who can benefit from PSA, Ms. C is struggling with the traditional patriarchal system that is revered by older generations and influences younger generations. Her parents-in-law expected that she

would work hard as a housewife in order to take care of her husband, children, and even her two sisters-in-law, who visit her home every weekend. Even though her parents-in-law sent their daughters as PSA students, it seems that they did not think that their four year-old granddaughter's English training is a good enough reason to support Ms. C's study abroad. Ms. C also seems to be skeptical about the effectiveness of her daughter's English learning:

I think she is too young. People say that she will quickly forget English when she goes back to Korea because she is only four years old. At least one should be able to *read* or be an elementary school-aged student [in order for their English learning here to be effective]. (Interview with Ms. C)

Ms. C explained how she started to study abroad and emphasized that it is not easy for Korean women to do so:

I came here to study abroad because my husband came to study abroad. Even though what I am majoring in now is not what I studied for my M.A. degree, which is adult education, I had no choice. This school is the only university that both my husband and I have been accepted to. I earned my M.A. degree in 2001 and worked for the Ministry of Education for six years until I quit the job because of delivering and raising my daughter. So I have longed for my own self-development. Other single friends keep building up their careers, but I couldn't. Of course, it was not easy to decide to study abroad. But fortunately, I got a tuition waiver and scholarship, so I started. If I had to pay all the money, only my husband would have studied because, you know, men's study is more important than women's. After all, it is men who need to get a better job. That is what Koreans believe. Men are breadwinners. No man would follow his wife and come here just to support her study. (Interview with Ms. C)

Ms. C's narration clearly describes the reality of patriarchal Korean society. Without the PSA premium, it is difficult for a married Korean woman to study abroad. Unlike their female predecessors, whose two primary functions were to produce sons and to provide domestic labor under Neo-Confucian patriarchy, modern Korean women, along with others outside of Europe and the U.S., have been influenced by the "Western model of courtship, marriage, and gender relations" such as "the ideology of gender egalitarianism and of romantic love as a basis for a marriage" (Chong 2008:63). It does not take long, however, for them to realize that changes in ancient and embedded traditions do not come easily, and the Neo-Confucian patriarchal family system still remains in place. And there are many burdens placed on their shoulders as soon as they get married.

Ms. C's story presents two patriarchal thoughts prevalent in Korea. First, the family structure is male-centered and their success is prioritized over women's. Secondly, women's primary role is to take care of the family inside the confines of the home, where parents-in-law often exercise more authority than in Western cultures. For example, Ms. C quit her job after marrying in order to raise a family. She had no choice of universities except the one her husband attended, because she is expected to remain with her husband so she can take care of the family. It is due to these traditional social norms that there is no male counterpart to the wild geese mothers. Usually no fathers are expected or supposed to study abroad with their children while their wives stay in Korea to work in order to support the family financially. It is taken for granted that mothers, not fathers, should stay with and care for their children. There have been a few "wild geese" father-students study abroad at this institution, but in these cases, their school-aged children stay in Korea with their working mothers. It is the same structure in which one spouse is pursuing an academic degree abroad while the other is working in Korea for financial support, but the children still always stay with their mothers. Thus even

though PSA is a critical factor for married women's study abroad, it does not override the typical gender norms in Korea.

Ms. D had been a full time housewife who took care of her husband and her children until she resumed studying in America in 2009. Several years ago she and her husband were in the same M. A. program at another university in the Midwest, but the family could not afford to continue financing Ms. D's study along with that of her husband and their two children. Only her husband continued to pursue his Ph. D degree. A few years later, however, when her husband had almost finished his degree, he encouraged her to begin studying again. In fact, he was "more actively pushing her to return to school than she was herself." For example, he babysat their daughters for a month and a half in order to give her time to study for the GRE. Yet despite her husband's unusual level of support, Ms. D did not feel comfortable enough with the arrangement to inform her parents-in-law:

I did not tell my parents-in-law that I was going to begin studying again because I knew they wanted us to come back to Korea as soon as possible. My husband is the only son, so, you know. Moreover, like most Korean parents [of study abroad students], they had been worried a lot about him securing a job in Korea after he finished his degree. But he got a job, so now they think something good will happen for me when I finish my study, too. [Without his success] I could have not told them that I planned on continuing my studies. (Interview with Ms. D)

Like Ms. C, Ms. D's study abroad after marriage was initiated by her husband. Yet this wasn't considered until his degree was almost finished. Her case confirms Ms. C's remarks that men's studies are prioritized over women's. In addition, Ms. D also was reluctant to let her parents-in-law know about her plan to continue her studies. Most parents-in-law would not be pleased if their daughter-in-law spent time, energy, and money

on her own studies that could be used for caring for their son, grandchildren, or themselves. This is particularly potent in Ms. D's situation, as her husband is the only son in his family. In this context, Chong (2008) stated that "the traditional ties and mutual obligations between parents and sons still remain quite strong" (78) in contemporary Korean society—particularly the obligation for sons to take care of their aging parents. Being a wild goose mother-student, it is even more difficult for Ms. D to meet her parents-in-law's expectations as the wife of their only son. But they did not oppose her studying abroad after her husband secured a job, hoping that the investment in her studies will also bring a worthwhile reward. This aging generation in Korea is therefore adapting to the idea that it is the family, not a society or government, who is responsible for maintaining or upgrading its own socio-economic circumstances. All family members of course try to maximize their commodity values, even though sometimes that means sacrificing a traditional gender role.

IV. Conclusion

English has obtained a dominant position in the process of modernization in Korea and English hegemony is deeply rooted and practiced in Korean society (Lee, Han and McKeroow 2010; Shim and Park 2008). Korean students need to earn high scores in English in order to enter privileged special high schools (e.g. Foreign language high schools or Science high schools, which lead to prestigious universities), to attend top universities (which is critical to finding a good job and to creating necessary social networks), and to get the jobs they want (which is necessary to maintain / move up in their social class). Based on this close relationship between English and one's survival in Korean society, PSA has become very popular in the last decade. This study discussed that PSA is more than learning English by examining why English Villages were not successful. Among

the problems that PSA caused, we looked at excessive costs, students' adaptation to the new environment (and to the old environment upon their return), and family breakdown.

It is also argued that PSA created a more favorable environment than before for mothers with school-aged children to study abroad as shown from the interviews with "new wild geese" mothers, who are serious about their own education as well as their children's. Two of them are M. A. students taking a two-year leave from their jobs as English teachers. With school-aged children, they take advantage of PSA by "killing two birds [their children's English education and their own self-realization] with one stone." The other two mothers are doctoral students whose husbands encouraged their wives to obtain degrees at the same time, or after finishing their own degree. Because they do not have school-aged children, they do not get benefits from PSA. These mothers are even more struggling with the pressures of traditional patriarchal norms without much "approval" of their parents-in-law, but their studying abroad is not necessarily opposed by their families. Even if their pursuit of a graduate degree is not supported by their parents-in-law, the hope of upward class mobility is enough for their parents-in-law to accept their study abroad, which represents how prevalent the neoliberal ethos is in the Korean society.

In other words, the emergence of this trend of "new wild geese" mothers can be examined on three levels: social atmosphere, familial support, and individual effort. The desire and necessity to learn English has led people to send their children to English-speaking countries to advance their educational and career opportunities. As more and more Koreans have their children join the PSA programs, more mothers fly overseas to accompany their children, leaving their husbands behind, or remain in the U.S. after their husbands finish their U.S. stay. This practice has created a more favorable social environment for study abroad than before for mothers with school-aged children.

Even though these women's parents-in-law do not welcome the fact

that their sons cook and care for themselves for years for the sake of their daughter-in-law's education, they endorse this situation because they think that it provides a great opportunity for their grandchildren to learn English, and that these mothers' advanced degree in the U.S. will bring more income and prospects for the family. In the same way, the husbands of "wild geese" mothers allow, or sometimes encourage, their wives to study abroad with their children in spite of their own hardships, including loneliness. Finally, these women's own efforts also contribute to this trend of the Korean transnational family, in which women's roles and international experience have become more important. These "wild geese" mothers worked hard to gain admission to a renowned U.S. graduate school in their academic field and to earn highly competitive scholarships to support the costs of their education overseas.

How these "new wild geese" mothers' lives played out as mothers and students in the U.S. is not within the scope of this study, but a follow-up on these women is definitely worth pursuing. What are their achievements, challenges, and coping strategies? Korea is surely a dynamic, fast-changing society, where education is highly regarded and academic discipline is unusually intense from an early age. Thus, it remains to be seen sooner or later as to how this new phenomenon of "wild geese" motherhood affects the status of women in Korea. In addition, if or how the story will be changed in their daughters' generation will be an interesting topic for future research.

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Verbal Conjunctions in Korean, English and Japanese*

Chisung Oh
(Sangmyung University)

■ ABSTRACT ■

This paper compares sequential and non-sequential verbal conjunctions in Korean, English, and Japanese by looking at how sequential verbal conjunction is treated in each language. It first reviews verbal conjunctions in Korean, where sequential conjunction is treated as subordination and non-sequential conjunction is treated as coordination, and looks at verbal conjunctions in English and Japanese to see whether or not sequential conjunction in those languages is subordination. According to Oh (2010), sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Korean behave quite differently with respect to the tense and negation in the final conjunct. Also, Cho (1995, 2005) and Kwon (2004) show that syntactic operations such as extraction and scrambling clearly distinguish sequential conjunction from non-sequential conjunction. The purpose of this paper is to see how sequential and non-sequential conjunctions are analyzed in English and Japanese and to compare those languages with Korean, especially focusing on whether or not sequential conjunctions in English and Japanese are treated as subordination. For this purpose, I first investigate how tense and negation, which provided crucial evidence for concluding that Korean sequential conjunction is subordination, is interpreted in sequential and non-sequential verbal conjunctions in English and

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Japanese. Also, I investigate the syntactic properties of sequential and non-sequential conjunctions with respect to syntactic operations such as extraction and scrambling in those languages. The results of the investigation show that in Japanese, which is considered typologically similar to Korean, the sequential conjunction is a case of subordination, while in English, which is considered typologically different from Korean, both sequential and non-sequential conjunctions are treated as coordination.

Key Words

sequential conjunction, non-sequential conjunction, coordination, subordination

1. Introduction

It has been observed that Korean has two types of verbal conjunction, namely tensed and tenseless. In tensed verbal conjunctions, the tense marker appears in both conjuncts, and it has been generally accepted that tensed verbal conjunction is a case of coordination (Cho & Morgan (1987), Joh & Park (1993), Yoon (1993, 1994)). On the other hand, in tenseless verbal conjunctions, the tense marker appears only in the final conjunct. Tenseless verbal conjunctions are again divided into two types, namely sequential and non-sequential conjunction, according to their semantic interpretation. As their names indicate, sequential conjunction describes sequential events, while non-sequential conjunction describes parallel and non-sequential events. Consider the following examples, where tensed¹⁾ (1a, b) and both sequential (1c) and non-sequential (1d) tenseless verbal conjunctions are illustrated:

1) Tenseless verbal conjunction has been regarded as describing two independent events (Yoon (1993, 1994)), and they need not be ordered in any specific way: the two events can occur in either order. Because tensed conjunction is not necessarily interpreted as sequential, we can say that the tensed conjunction is a kind of non-sequential conjunction.

- (1) a. John-i chinkwutul-ul manna-ss-ko kohyang-ul ttena-ss-ta
 J-Nom friend-Acc meet-Pst-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Pst-Dcl
 'John met his friends and left his hometown.'
- b. John-i koyangi-lul coahay-ss-ko kay-lul silehay-ss-ta.
 J-Nom cat-Acc like-Pst-Conj dog-Acc dislike-Pst-Dcl
 'John liked cats and hated dogs.'
- c. John-i chayk-ul ilk-ko phyenci-lul ssu-ess-ta.
 J-Nom book-Acc read-Pst-Conj letter-Acc write-Pst-Dcl
 'John read a book and wrote a letter.'
- d. John-i wuwulha-ko hwakana-ess-ta
 J- Nom be-gloomy-Conj be-angry-Pst-Dcl
 'John was gloomy and angry.'

Sequential and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions can be distinguished by the properties associated with their predicate types. If the predicate of each conjunct of the conjunction is non-stative, usually the sentence describes a sequential event, and if the predicate is stative, the sentence containing the conjunction describes a non-sequential event. In (1c) above, the predicates are non-stative and the sentence has a sequential meaning, and in (1d), the predicates are stative, and the sentence has a non-sequential meaning.

While it has been generally admitted that the non-sequential tenseless conjunction has coordination structure, there has been much debate on whether sequential tenseless conjunctions should be treated as coordination or subordination in Korean. Some argue that both sequential and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions should be treated as coordination (e.g. Yoon (1994)). (I will call this approach "coordination analysis.") However, more recently, many researchers have argued that tenseless verbal conjunction should be treated as a case of subordination, in which the initial conjunct plays the role of an adverbial adjunct (Kwon (2004), Cho (1995, 2005), Oh (2010)). In an earlier paper (Oh 2010), I argued

that the initial conjunct of sequential conjunction (henceforth ICSC) should be an adverbial adjunct, specifically a time adverbial clause. To support this view, in that paper, I presented semantic characteristics of ICSC in relation to tense and negation, which are clearly distinguished from those of the initial conjunct of non-sequential conjunction, and following Cho (1995, 2005) and Kwon (2004), I also showed different syntactic behaviors of sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in regard to syntactic operations such as extraction from a conjunct and scrambling.

In this paper, I will compare sequential and non-sequential verbal conjunctions in Korean to those in English and Japanese, which could be thought to be typologically different from and similar to Korean, respectively, and see how sequential conjunctions can be analyzed in those languages. The focus will be especially on whether it is a case of coordination or subordination. In comparing those three languages, I will see how tense and negation, whose interpretations played a crucial role in distinguishing sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Korean, are interpreted in English and Japanese. Also I will apply syntactic operations such as extraction and scrambling, which also showed that the syntactic structure of sequential conjunction is different from that of non-sequential conjunction in Korean, to English and Japanese to see whether sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in English and Japanese behave differently with respect to those syntactic operations. By looking at those languages, we can raise questions about whether languages in general treat sequential conjunction as subordination.

2. Interpretation of Tense and Negation in Korean Tenseless Verbal Conjunctions

In order to support the view that sequential tenseless conjunction is not coordination but subordination, Oh (2010) showed how these two types

of conjunctions behave with respect to tense and negation in the final conjunct. In this section, I will briefly review the arguments against the coordination analysis, which were presented in Oh (2010).

According to the coordination analysis (cf. Yoon 1994), there is no structural distinctions between sequential and non-sequential conjunctions since both of them are regarded as true coordination, and the tense and negation in the final conjunct range equally over both the initial and final conjuncts. Consequently, both conjuncts have their tense interpretation from the tense marker in the final conjunct and are equally in the scope of the negation in the final conjunct.

However, the initial conjunct of sequential tenseless conjunction, unlike that of non-sequential tenseless conjunction, can have a different tense interpretation from the tense marker in the final conjunct. Let us see the following examples from Oh (2010:317), in which sequential conjunction is illustrated in (2a, b), and non-sequential conjunction is illustrated in (3a-c).

- (2) a. John-i ecey canti-lul kkak-ko cikum yakwu-lul sicakha-n-ta.
J-Nom yesterday grass-Acc mow-Conj now baseball-Acc begin-Pres-Dcl.
'John mowed the grass yesterday and is starting to play baseball now.'
- b. John-i canti-lul kkak-ko yakwu-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
J-Nom grass-Acc mow-Conj baseball-Acc begin-Pst-Dcl.
'John mowed the grass and started playing baseball.'
- (3) a. ?*John-i ecey hwakana-ko cikum wuwulha-Ø²-ta.
J-Nom yesterday be-angry-Conj now be-gloomy-Present-Dcl.
'John was angry yesterday and is now gloomy.'
- b. John-i ecey hwakana-ss-ko cikum wuwulha-Ø-ta.
J-Nom yesterday be-angry-Past-Conj now be-gloomy-Present-Dcl.
'John was angry yesterday and is now gloomy.'
- c. John-i (ecey) hwakana-ko wuwulhay-ss-ta.

2) Adjectives have no overt present tense marker in Korean.

J-Nom yesterday be-angry-Conj be-gloomy-Pst-Dcl.
 ‘John was angry and gloomy (yesterday).’

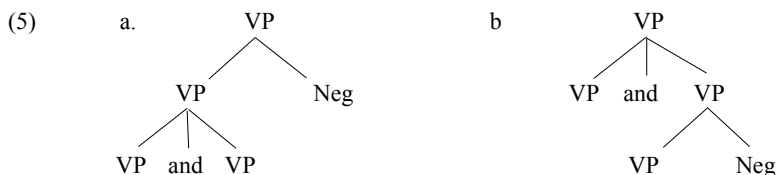
In (2a), the adverb *ecey* (‘yesterday’) requires its verbs to be interpreted as past. If the first conjunct is really under the influence of the present tense marker in the final conjunct, there should be a clash between the two tenses (i.e. past and present), and as a result, the sentence should be ungrammatical. However, it is still grammatical, and this means that the ICSC does not have its tense interpretation from the tense marker in the final conjunct. This clearly indicates that the tense of the first conjunct is not structurally decided by the tense marker in the final conjunct. Instead, it is determined by the temporal relation between the two conjuncts; the event expressed by the first VP should happen earlier than the one expressed in the final conjunct. Sentence (3a) is an example of non-sequential conjunction, which shows the clash of the two tenses. This indicates that the initial and final conjuncts in the non-sequential conjunction should have the same tense with the tense marker in the final conjunct. Clearly, the above data show that the ICSC can have a different tense interpretation from the tense in the final conjunct.

Now, let us turn to the negation patterns, and look at how sequential and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions are distinguished regarding the negation in the final conjunct. First, consider the following non-sequential conjunction:

- (4) John-i horangi-lul cohaha-ko kom-ul sileha-ci anh-ass-ta
 J-Nom tiger-Acc like-Conj bear-Acc hate-Comp Neg-Past-Dcl
 Interpretation A: ‘John did not like tigers and hate bears.’ ($\sim(p \wedge q)$)
 Interpretation B: ‘John liked tigers and did not hate bears.’ ($p \wedge \sim q$)
 (Oh 2010:325)

According to the coordination analysis, negation should equally range over both VP conjuncts with the whole VP conjunction in its scope.

However, the sentence is actually ambiguous: the negation in the final conjunct negate either the whole conjunction or only the final VP. The ambiguity of the sentence (4) arises from the following structures:



In (5a), the negation ranges over both conjuncts and the whole VP conjunction is in the scope of the negation, and in (5b), only the second conjunct is in the scope of the negation.

However, there is no such ambiguity with respect to negation in sequential conjunctions. Also, unlike in the non-sequential conjunction, the reading where the negation equally ranges over both conjuncts is not possible in sequential conjunction. Consider the following sentences:

- (6) a. John-i pap-ul mek-ko theynisu-lul
J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj tennis-Acc
chi-ci anh-ess-ta. (neutral stress pattern)
play-Comp Neg-Pst-Dcl
‘John ate the meal and did not play tennis.’ ($p \wedge \sim q$)
 \neq ‘John did not eat the meal and play tennis.’ ($\sim(p \wedge q)$)
- b. John-i pap-ul mek-ko theynisu-lul
J-NOM meal-ACC eat-Conj tennis-Acc
chi-ci(n) anh-ess-ta. (accent on mek-ko)
play-Comp Neg-Pst-Dcl
‘It is not after eating the meal that John played tennis.’
(Oh 2010:327)

The above examples show that the interpretation of negation in sequential conjunction is quite different from that of non-sequential conjunction;

ICSC in the sequential conjunction is either clearly negated or not negated, depending on whether or not its verb is accented. In a neutral stress pattern (6a), only the final verb is negated, but the ICSC is not actually negated. However, when the ICSC receives an accent in the sentence, usually on its verb (6b), it is negated. The sentences (6a) and (6b) thus have different interpretations.

So far, it has been shown that non-sequential and sequential conjunctions have different negation patterns. The non-sequential conjunction has ambiguity due to the two different structures. The sequential conjunction does not have such ambiguity, and the ICSC in the sequential conjunction is either negated or not depending on whether or not it receives an accent. So the different negation patterns between sequential and non-sequential conjunctions we have seen above also raise the question of whether sequential tenseless conjunction is true coordination.

From the observations discussed so far, which are related to the tense and negation interpretations, Oh (2010) suggested that sequential conjunction cannot be treated as a case of coordination and that we have to posit a different structure, namely subordination for it. In the following section, I will discuss Cho (1995, 2005), in which the ICSC in the sequential conjunction is treated as an adverbial adjunct.

3. Different Syntactic Properties between Sequential and Non-Sequential Tenseless Conjunctions in Korean

Cho (1995, 2005) gives two different structures for sequential and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions. He argues that the different interpretation of the sequential and non-sequential readings of tenseless conjunctions is syntactically based. His argument is based on the fact that extraction of an element from the second conjunct of sequential conjunction is possible in Korean while extraction is impossible in

non-sequential conjunction. Consider the following examples:

- (7) a. ppang-uli Kim-i pap-ul mek-ko t_i mek-ess-ta
 bread-Acc K-Nom meal-Acc eat-Conj eat-Past-Dcl
 'Kim ate the meal (rice) and then ate bread.'
 b. *ppang-uli Kim-i pap-ul cohaha-ko t_i silhehay-ss-ta
 bread-Acc K-Nom meal-Acc like-Conj dislike-Past-Dcl
 'Kim liked the rice and hated the bread.' (Cho 1995: 158)

In (7a), which is an example of sequential conjunction, the extraction of the object from the second conjunct is possible, while in (7b), which is an instance of non-sequential conjunction, extraction is not allowed. Based on this observation, Cho argues that the ICSC in (7a) should be treated as an adverbial adjunct and that (7b) is VP coordination. As argued by Cho, this also means that the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC), which prohibits extraction from a conjunct in a coordinate structure, is a purely syntactic constraint in Korean; the non-sequential conjunction, which constitutes coordination structure, never allows violation of CSC.

A second syntactic operation that distinguishes sequential tenseless conjunction from non-sequential tenseless conjunction is scrambling of ICSC. ICSC in Korean can appear in initial, medial (before and after object) and final positions in a sentence (Cf. Kwon (2004)). This property is shown in the following examples:

- (8) a. John-i_j [Ø_j canti-lul kkak-ko] yakwu-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
 bJ-NOM grass-ACC mow-Conj baseball-ACC begin-Pst-Dcl.
 'John mowed the grass and then started playing baseball.'
 b. [Ø_j canti-lul kkak-ko] John-i_j yakwu-lul sicakha-ess-ta.
 c. John-i_j yakwu-lul [Ø_j canti-lul kkak-ko] sicakha-ess-ta. .
 d. John-i_j yakwu-lul sicakha-ess-ta [Ø_j canti-lul kkak-ko].

But the initial conjunct of non-sequential conjunction does not show such

a property. It can only occur between the subject and the second conjunct, as shown in (9):

- (9) a. John-i [ton-ul salangha-ko] kwenlyek-ul kalmangha-ess-ta.
 J-NOM money-ACC love-Conj power-ACC crave-Pst-Dcl.
 ‘John loved the money and craved political power.’
 b. *[ton-ul salangha-ko] John-i kwenlyek-ul kalmangha-ess-ta.
 c. *John-i kwenlyek-ul [ton-ul salangha-ko] kalmangha-ess-ta.
 d. ?*John-i kwenlyek-ul kalmangha-ess-ta[ton-ulsalangha-ko].

Based on the semantic and syntactic evidence presented above, Oh (2010) concluded that sequential tenseless conjunction is subordination in Korean and that ICSC is a kind of adverbial adjunct. The different scope behaviors of tense and negation in sequential and non-sequential conjunctions can now be explained by their different structures. These results are in line with the claim that CSC is purely syntactic in Korean, as argued in Cho (1995). We have seen that CSC does not apply to the sequential conjunction because it is an instance of subordination. CSC applies only to real syntactic coordinations (i.e. tensed and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions).³⁾ In the next section, I will deal with similar constructions in English and Japanese, which is the main topic of this paper. As mentioned earlier, English and Japanese could be thought to be typologically different from and similar to Korean, respectively. To see how sequential and non-sequential conjunctions can be treated in those languages, I will look at the interpretations of the tense and negation as well as the syntactic operations in such conjunction constructions in English and Japanese, which play a crucial role in distinguishing sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Korean.

3) Tensed conjunction, as a coordination, also cannot violate CSC:

- (i) *Theynisu-lul_j Chelswu-ka pap-ul mek-ess-ko t_j chi-ess-ta.
 Tennis-Acc C-Nom rice-Acc eat-Past-Conj play-Past-Dcl

4. Verbal Conjunctions in English

Let us first see if the sequential conjunction can be analyzed as subordination in English. We have seen that sequential and non-sequential conjunctions behave differently with respect to tense and negation in Korean and that this has led us to conclude that the sequential conjunction is subordination in Korean. I expect that tense and negation in English will also play an important role in deciding whether sequential conjunctions are coordination or subordination in English.

Sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in English are thoroughly discussed in Goldsmith (1985) and Lakoff (1986). According to Lakoff, there are three major types of conjunctions which allow extraction from one of their conjuncts. All of these types can be regarded as sequential, and Lakoff argues that these are all coordinations. In the first type (10a), the conjunction describes cause and result relation, and in the second one⁴⁾ (10b), *and* is interpreted as ‘and nonetheless.’ The third type of conjunction (10c) involves a notion of natural course of event. In the following data, I include both sequential (10) and non-sequential conjunctions (11) in English:

- (10) a. That’s the kind of firecracker_j that I set off t_j and scared the neighbor.
 b. How much_j can you drink t_j and still stay sober?
 c. What_j did Harry go to the store and buy t_j?
- (11) a. Mary liked Democrats and hated Republicans.
 b. Did John make a sandwich and eat an apple?

Now, let us see if sequential and non-sequential conjunction behave differently with respect to tense and negation in English.⁵⁾ First of all,

4) In Goldsmith (1985), this type of conjunction is analyzed as subordination, which is rejected by Lakoff (1986).

we see that in (10a), which is a sequential conjunction, tense is specified on both conjuncts. So, each conjunct should be an IP in (10a). In (11a), we also see that each conjunct of non-sequential conjunction is tense marked. In this way, the English sequential conjunction (10a) does not show any difference from the non-sequential conjunction (11a) with respect to tense. In (10b) and (10c), tense is marked on the auxiliary preceding the conjunction, so the main verbs in conjuncts do not have any tense marking. In this case, the tense interpretation of each conjunct should be exactly the same as that of the auxiliary. In (11b), we also see that the tense interpretation of each conjunct is the same as that of the auxiliary. So again, (10b, c) and (11b) show that English sequential conjunction does not behave differently from non-sequential conjunction with respect to tense.

The following examples also show that in English, sequential conjunctions and non-sequential conjunctions behave similarly with respect to negation:

- (12) a. Harry did not go to the store and buy the food.
 b. Mary did not like Democrats and hate Republicans.

In both sequential (12a) and non-sequential (12b) conjunctions, both conjuncts are equally under the domain of the negation, which is shown by the bare form of the verb in each conjunct, so in each construction, the whole conjoined VP is negated. Unlike sequential and non-sequential

5) There are some differences between the English sequential conjunctions in (10a-c) and Korean sequential conjunctions with respect to tense marking. In Korean, when tense is marked in both conjuncts, the conjunction does not necessarily have a sequential reading. That is, the two events described by the two conjuncts need not be ordered in any specific way. And, this construction does not allow extraction from its conjuncts (see footnote 3). But in English, we see that in (10a), in which tense is specified in both conjuncts, the conjunction still gets a sequential interpretation and allows extraction.

conjunctions in Korean, the two conjunctions in English do not show any difference with respect to tense and negation, and this may support the claim that sequential conjunction is real coordination in English.

Also, Lakoff (1986) argues that sequential conjunctions in (10) are cases of real coordination. His argument is based on the assumption that across-the-board extraction is possible only in true coordinations. According to him, in English, sequential conjunctions as in (10) allow across-the-board extraction. See his examples below:

- (13) a. What did he go to the store, buy, load in his car, drive home and unload?
 b. How many courses can you take for credit, still remain sane, and get all A's in? (p.153)

In sentences (13a, b), VPs are iterated and extraction applies in the iterated VPs. In (13a), extraction applies in the second, third and fifth conjuncts and, in (13b), it applies in the first and third conjuncts. Lakoff argues that the very existence of across-the-board extraction in these cases shows that they are instances of true coordination. He also acknowledges that an alternative account is offered, in which the single-gap sentences (10a, b, c) are analyzed as containing adverbial clauses and the multiple-gap constructions (13a, b) as sentences with a sequence of adverbial subordinate clauses in which non-initial gaps are treated as parasitic gaps. But he refutes this idea based on a number of observations. First, some of the conjunctions cannot be paraphrased by a sequence of existing subordinate clauses. For example, sentence (13a) cannot be paraphrased because English has no subordinating conjunction which indicates the next term in a sequence of events. At the very least, the alternative suggestion has to postulate an abstract subordinating conjunction with this meaning. Second, according to the alternative suggestion, the second VP in sentence (14a) is analyzed as an adverbial subordinate clause as paraphrased in (14b), and this requires

extraction from the subordinate clause; however, extraction is not allowed:

- (14) a. Who_j did he sit there and listen to t_j?
 b. *Who_j did he sit there while listening to t_j?

Third, in general, parasitic gaps in the subordinate clause are not possible where there is a gapless clause intervening between the clause with the gap and the element that the gap is parasitic on. This is shown in the following example:

- (15) *How many courses can you take for credit, while still remaining sane, without getting bad grades in?

In (15), there is an intervening gapless clause “while still remaining sane” before the clause with the parasitic gap “without getting bad grades in”, so the sentence is ungrammatical. But, consider the sentence in (16):

- (16) How many courses can you take for credit, still remain sane, and not get a bad grade in?

In (16), which is well-formed, there is a gapless clause between the first and the final clauses, which have a gap. If the gap in the final clause is indeed a gap that is parasitic on the gap in the first conjunct, it should not allow the gapless clause to occur between the first and final clauses in (16), but the gapless clause occurs between them. This means that the final clause is not a parasitic gap. By using all of the points presented above, Lakoff (1986) argues that the sequential conjunctions in (10) are true coordinations, even though they allow extraction from one of their conjuncts.

So far, we have seen that, unlike sequential conjunction in Korean, sequential conjunction in English should be treated as real coordination.

This implies, as Lakoff (1986) argues, that CSC is not a pure syntactic constraint in English and that extraction in the coordinate structure is constrained by semantic factors.

5. Verbal Conjunctions in Japanese

Just as Korean and English, Japanese has sequential and non-sequential conjunctions. The distinction between sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Japanese is related to the verbal types as in Korean. When VPs headed by a non-stative predicate are conjoined, the conjunction gets the sequential interpretation, but when VPs headed by stative predicates are conjoined, the conjunction gets the non-sequential interpretation. Let us look at Japanese examples:

- (17) a. John-wa tomodachi-ni at-te mati-o de-ta
 J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Pst
 'John met his friends and left the hometown.'
- b. John-wa neko-ga suki-de inu-ga kiraidat-ta
 J-Top cat-Nom like-Conj dog-Nom hate-Pst
 'John liked cats and hated dogs.'

In the above examples, (17a) shows a case of non-stative VP conjunction, which is sequential, and (17b) shows a case of stative VP conjunction, which is non-sequential. Morphologically, these examples look quite similar to Korean examples shown above, but the Japanese conjunction structure is different from that of Korean in a very important respect: the tense morpheme cannot appear in the first conjunct. Unlike corresponding sentences in Korean (cf. 1a, b), the following sentences with the tense morpheme in the first conjunct are ungrammatical.

- (18) a. *John-wa tomodachi-ni at-ta-te mati-o de-ta

- J-Top friend-Dat meet-Pst-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Pst
 b. *John-wa neko-ga suki-ta-te inu-ga kiraidat-ta
 J-Top cat-Nom like-Pst-Conj dog-Nom hate-Pst

According to Lee (1999), there are only two tense morphemes in Japanese, past *ta* and non-past *ru* (*i* or *da*).⁶⁾ There is no special tense marking for present and future. Instead, the non-past tense morpheme can be used as both present and future. All non-stative verbs in Japanese, when they have a non-past morpheme, are interpreted as future as an unmarked tense, if there is no specific tense adverb in the sentence, while the unmarked temporal interpretation of stative verbs with a non-past morpheme is present. When the speaker assumes the event expressed by the stative verb will happen definitely in the future, the stative verb with non-past tense can have a future interpretation. Generally, stative verbs express future meaning with the modal *daroo* ('probably'). Consider the interpretation of tense in the following sentences in Japanese:

- (19) a. John-wa mati-o de-ta
 J-Top hometown-Acc leave-Pst
 'John left the hometown.'
 b. John-wa mati-o de-ru
 J-Top hometown-Acc leave-nonPst
 'John will leave his hometown.'
 c. John-wa neko-ga suki-dat-ta
 J-Top cat-Nom like-Pst
 'John liked cats.'
 d. John-wa neko-ga suki-da.⁷⁾

6) The non-past tense forms are selected according to the type of the predicate; if the predicate is a verb it takes *ru*, if it is an adjective it takes *i*, and if it is a nominal predicate, it takes *da*.

7) *Suki* is used as a kind of nominal predicate (its literal meaning is something like 'liking') here, so it occurs with *da* when it expresses a non-past tense. We can also see that, unlike the non-past tense marking *ru* for verbs, *da*

- J-Top cat-Nom like-nonPst
 'John likes cats.'
- e. John-wa asita neko-ga suki-Ø-daroo
 J-Top tomorrow cat-Nom like-nonPst-Probably
 'John will like cats tomorrow.'
- f. John-wa asita neko-ga suki-da.
 J-Top tomorrow cat-Nom like-nonPst
 'John will (definitely) like cats tomorrow.'

In the above data, (19a) is an example of a non-stative verb with past tense, and (19b) shows that the unmarked tense interpretation of the non-past tense with non-stative verb is future. (19c) is an example of a stative verb with past tense, and (19d) shows that the unmarked tense interpretation of the non-past tense with stative verb is present. (19e) and (19f) show that the construction can be interpreted as future when the stative verb occurs with *daroo* and that stative verbs can also express future without *daroo* when the speaker is sure that the event will happen in the future.

With the basic morphology of Japanese tense given above, we are in a position to determine whether sequential and non-sequential conjunctions show any difference with respect to tense in Japanese. Consider the following examples:

- (20) a.(=17a) John-wa tomodachi-ni at-te mati-o de-ta
 J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Pst
 'John met his friends and left the hometown.'
- b. John-wa kinoo tomodachi-ni at-te asita
 J-Top yesterday friend-Dat meet-Conj tomorrow
 mati-o de-ru.
 hometown-Acc leave-nonPst
 'John met his friends yesterday and will leave his hometown'

still exists with the past tense morpheme *ta* in the past tense and that it is deleted, when it occurs with the modal *daroo*.

- tomorrow.'
- c.(=17b) John-wa neko-ga suki-de inu-ga kirai-dat-ta
 J-Top cat-Nom like-Conj dog-Nom hate-Pst
 'John liked cats and hated dogs.'
- d. John-wa kinoo neko-ga suki-de asita inu-ga
 J-Top yesterday cat-Nom like-Conj tomorrow dog-Nom
 kirai-Ø-daroo.
 hate-nonPst-Probably
 'Probably, John liked cats yesterday and will hate dogs tomorrow.'

Unlike sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Korean, the two conjunctions in Japanese show no difference with respect to tense in the final conjunct. That is, in (20a, c), both conjuncts have the same past tense interpretation under the past tense marker in the final conjunct, while in (20b, d), the first conjunct has a different tense interpretation from that of the final conjunct. In Korean, only sequential conjunction shows this property.

The fact that the first conjunct in (20b, d) has a different tense interpretation from that of the final conjunct raises one question at this point: how can the first conjunct of (20b, d) have past tense interpretation? If we assume both of them are real coordinations, the first conjunct should get its tense from the tense morpheme in the final conjunct because it does not have a tense marker. But, at the same time, it should not be under the influence of the non-past morpheme in the final conjunct, because there should be a clash between this morpheme and the time adverbial *kinoo*. Here is a problem, and there might be two possible solutions to this problem. First, as no overt tense morpheme is allowed in the first conjunct, there can be a zero tense morpheme in the first conjunct, which allows past tense interpretation in the first conjunct. Second, past tense can be contextually recovered as a last resort, which is common among languages without grammatical tenses (e.g., Chinese).⁸⁾ But whatever approach we take, we cannot find any clue to treat sequential conjunction

differently from non-sequential conjunction, at least with respect to tense. That is, tense in Japanese cannot be used as a property to distinguish sequential and non-sequential conjunctions.

We now turn to the scope of negation, extraction and scrambling in Japanese because they may help to determine whether sequential conjunction in Japanese should be treated as adjunction. First, consider the negation in sequential (21a) and non-sequential (21b) conjunctions. Note that in these examples, the negation marker *nakat* is placed between the root verb and the tense marker, just like the Korean negation marker *anh*.

- (21). a. John-wa tomodachi-ni at-te mati-o de-nakat-ta
 J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Neg-Pst
 ‘John met his friends and did not leave the hometown.’
 b. John-wa neko-ga suki-de inu-ga kiraija-nakat-ta
 J-Top cat-Nom like-Conj dog-Nom hate-Neg-Pst
 Interpretation A: ‘John did not like cats and hate dogs.’
 Interpretation B: ‘John liked cats and did not like dogs.’

In the sequential conjunction (21a), only the final verb is negated, but the interpretation of (21b) indicates that the Japanese negation *nakat* creates ambiguity in the non-sequential conjunction. It can take scope over either the whole conjunction or only the final conjunct. Note that this was exactly the case with Korean negation *anh*, which creates the same kind of ambiguity in non-sequential conjunctions. But this kind of ambiguity does not arise in the case of sequential conjunction. In

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- 8) According to Norman (1988), in Chinese, which does not have any grammaticalized tenses, past tense should be recovered based on the presence of a time adverbial as in the following sentence. We can also note that there is no aspectual marker indicating completion of the event in the sentence.

- (i) zoutian wanshang wo kan shu.
 yesterday evening I read book
 ‘I read a book yesterday evening.’

sequential conjunction in Japanese, in a neutral context, where none of the elements of the sentence gets an accent, only the final verb is negated, but if the verb of the first conjunct has an accent, the first conjunct is negated. See the following:

- (22) a. (=21a) John-wa tomodachi-ni at-te mati-o de-nakat-ta
 J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj hometown-Acc leave-Neg-Pst
 ‘John met his friends and did not leave the hometown.’
 b. John-wa tomodati-ni at-te mati-o
 J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj hometown-Acc
 de-nakat-ta. (accent on *at-te*)
 leave-Neg-Pst
 ‘John left his hometown, but he did without meeting his friends.’

We see that in (22a), where no part is accented, only the final verb is negated, while in (22b), where the verbal part of the first conjunct has an accent, the first conjunct is actually negated. The negation in Japanese sequential conjunction thus show the same patterns as the negation in Korean sequential conjunction.

The second area that may help to determine whether or not sequential conjunction is a case of subordination is extraction. Consider the following examples, in which extraction applies in sequential (23a) and non-sequential (23b) conjunctions:

- (23) a. Mati-o_j John-wa tomodachi-ni at-te t_j de-ta
 hometown-Acc J-Top friend-Dat meet-Conj leave-Pst
 ‘John met his friends and left the hometown.’
 b. *Inu-ga_j John-wa neko-ga suki-de t_j kiraidat-ta
 dog-Nom J-Top cat-Nom like-Conj hate-Pst
 ‘John liked cats and hated dogs.’

In (23a), the object of the second conjunct is extracted, but in (24b),

the object cannot be extracted. Just as in Korean, sequential conjunctions in Japanese allow extraction from their conjuncts, but non-sequential conjunctions do not allow extraction from their conjuncts.

Finally, as in Korean, the initial conjunct of the sequential conjunction in Japanese (24a-c) can move to various positions in the sentence like a single unit, while that of the non-sequential conjunction (24d-f) cannot:

- (24) a. [tomodachi-ni at-te]_i John-wa t_j mati-o de-ta.
 friend-Dat meet-Conj J-Top hometown-Acc leave-Pst
 ‘John met his friends and left the hometown.’
 b. John-wa t_j mati-o [tomodachi-ni at-te]_i de-ta.
 c. John-wa t_j mati-o de-ta [tomodachi-ni at-te]_i.
 d. ?*[neko-ga suki-de] John-wa inu-ga kirai-dat-ta.
 e. *John-wa inu-ga [neko-ga suki-de] kirai-dat-ta.
 f. ?*John-wa inu-ga kiraidat-ta [neko-ga suki-de.]

From the above data, we see that the sequential conjunction allows its initial conjunct to move to various positions in the sentence (initial, final and after the object), while the initial conjunct of non-sequential conjunction cannot undergo this kind of movement. Thus, (24a-c) are grammatical, but (24d-f) are ungrammatical.

Though the tense-related facts in Japanese shown above do not tell us much about whether or not sequential conjunction is an adjunct clause, the other three tests examined above have shown that sequential conjunction and non-sequential conjunction in Japanese behave quite differently; while non-sequential conjunction is coordination, sequential conjunction should be treated as subordination. Thus, we have some evidence to support the claim that sequential conjunction is an instance of adjunction in Japanese.

The similarities between Japanese and Korean noted above tell us that Korean is not the only language whose sequential conjunction can be analyzed as a case of subordination. In further research, we may find that, in many other languages, sequential conjunction is actually

subordination not coordination. Based on the admittedly limited data presented here, it seems that the differences between Korean and English and the similarities between Korean and Japanese suggest that whether or not the sequential conjunction is analyzed as adjunction is closely related to language typology.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed two types of verbal conjunctions, i.e. sequential and non-sequential conjunctions in Korean, focusing on their syntactic and semantic differences. I have shown that sequential and non-sequential tenseless conjunctions have different properties with respect to the tense and negation markers in Korean. Also, considering the different syntactic behaviors of sequential and non-non sequential conjunctions related to extraction and scrambling, I have shown that the ICSC is an adjunct adverbial clause and that sequential conjunction is subordination in Korean.

Based on the observations made from Korean, I have examined sequential and non-sequential verbal conjunctions in English and Japanese, especially focusing on the semantic properties in relation to tense and negation and syntactic operations such as extraction and scrambling, and it has been suggested that sequential conjunction of English is coordination as Lakoff (1986) argues, while that of Japanese is subordination. Consequently, we have seen that Korean is not the only language in which sequential conjunction can be analyzed as subordination.

The similarities between Korean and Japanese that we have noticed in this paper have shown that whether or not sequential conjunction in languages is subordination may be closely related to the language typology. I have not looked into this issue here; however, to draw a firm conclusion regarding the relation between the treatment of sequential conjunction

and the language typology, it is necessary to consider more languages from various typological groups in the future study.

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The Multicultural Education in Korea: A Comparative Study of Korea & Canada's Multicultural Education

Dae-Won Kim
(Yonsei University)

■ ABSTRACT ■

Using the observation technique and in-depth interview, the current study compared various aspects of multicultural education between Korea and Canada and suggested the direction Korea's multicultural education needs to take. As a part of class curriculum, the researcher interviewed the representative of Ansan Foreign Center (AFC) and the president of the Kosian's House, a NGO for multicultural educations. The observations and experiences of the researcher were also used in this study. The results of the current study are as follows. First, multicultural education is provided for the minority group in Korea, whereas multiculturalism is included and taught for every student in Canada. In addition, the current multicultural education of Korea focuses on language and culture acquisition to help the students to adjust. Canada, on the other hand, focuses on accepting other cultures and ethnic equality, creating both identities as their ethnic origin and as Canadians. Second, in language educations, both countries had students enrolled in lower school years than their age. However, the differences occurred in terms of emotional support and availability of expert teachers. Third, comparing teacher's attitude towards multicultural education, Korean teachers were not free from perceiving the multicultural student as 'different', whereas Canadian teachers have been taught since little to consider multicultural students as Canadians, but accept

their ethnic backgrounds. Based on the results, the current study suggested multicultural education program for the majority group, increase in number of expert language teachers and teaching assistants, and an education program to teach multiculturalism as part of an identity of humankind. The limitations and suggestions for future studies were provided afterwards.

Key Words

Multicultural Education, Language Education, Teacher's Attitude, Multicultural Identity, Comparative Study

I. Introduction

i. Why is this study needed?

It is perhaps too early to assume Korea as a multicultural society because the proportion of multicultural population is little compared to the entire Korean population (Han, 2013). In the United States., Germany, Canada, United Kingdom, countries that are portrayed as major multicultural society, have at least 5% of the population composed of immigrants. The current population of immigrants and international marriage families are approximately 1.5 million, which is about 3% of the Korean population. However, the number of foreign workers, international marriage couple, and their children are steadily increasing. The number of multicultural students increased from approximately 10,000 in 2006 to over 38,000 in 2011 (Han & Hong, 2012). A statistic by the Ministry of Justice (2011) also showed that the number of multicultural children is increasing from 2,000 to maximum of 10,000 since 2005. As mentioned above, although the number of multicultural population is low in percentage, because of the steep increase in population, social/cultural adjustment, childrearing, and education of the multicultural population have surfaced as a critical

issue in Korea.

For the increasing number of multicultural population, several departments of the Korean government are running various policies for the welfare of multicultural population. The efforts of the government are shown through the fact that several departments, Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Culture, and Ministry of Education, do researches and publish statistics. However, in doing so, criticisms on the efficiency of the budget and manpower are constantly surfacing on multiculturalism policies. Particularly, the problems in education policies for multicultural students are continually reported through researches. General multicultural education in Korean schools consists mostly of sporadic events; rather than implementing programs with a long-term vision. For these events, a substantial amount of capital is used (Chang & Jeon, 2013). Contradictory to the amount of budget and number of events, the number of schools engaging in long-term education programs are significantly low (Kim & Han, 2010). Furthermore, language and Korean culture education for the minority students are predominant in current education programs, rather than raising awareness on multiculturalism to all students. In other words, although the objective of multicultural education is to bring confidence in one's identity and promote a harmonious living regardless of cultural background, the current policies in Korea are focused on the majority to recognize the minority, and the minority to assimilate into the majority culture (Chang & Jeon, 2013; Cho et al., 2010). Some programs are also found to be impractical. Rather than providing support for the students to adjust into school, some programs introduce traditional Korean culture, and go on a field trip to public institutions.

In school enrollment, multicultural students are enrolled based on their language fluency and many students are enrolled in lower school year than their actual age. This illustrates the reality of education system in Korea: schools are more concerned with the students' ability than emotional

support and growth of students. In reality, students that are in lower school year have difficulty adjusting to school, and tend to have complex to the fact that they are put in lower school year. Furthermore, many multicultural students are bullied and isolated in class because of they are older.

Lastly, when observing the teachers in charge of multicultural education, Korean teachers are likely to stress and continue with the assimilative aspect of multiculturalism despite the fact that they recognize the need to change the multicultural education program. Because they lack knowledge in multiculturalism and proper pedagogical practice, teachers become exposed to the negative aspects and emphasize assimilation (Chang & Jeon, 2013). In other words, because of low language fluency, multicultural students show distress in communication; are likely to have below-average grades, and tend to face peer rejection. As a result, teachers end up concentrating on aiding the students to adjust into school more than respecting their identities. Furthermore, the results of Kim, Lee, and Kim's study (2009) showed that teachers recognized physical difference, disability, and occupation more than cultural differences. The parents of multicultural students, on the other hand, desire their children to receive multiple language education, and equal peer relationships (Kim, Lee & Kim, 2009).

In order to implement an efficient and successful multicultural education and change the perception of multiculturalism, Korea needs to observe multiculturalism policies of other countries and model after their policies. Although countries such as the U. K., Germany, and France have officially announced the failure of their multicultural policies, countries in North America are continuing to declare themselves as multicultural societies. Of the countries that were recognized to have multicultural society, Canada has gained recognition over Germany, France, and the United States in terms of labor market accessibility, family reconciliation education, discrimination prohibition, and acquisition of nationality for immigrant population (Kim, 2012). Korea could consider modeling Canada's

multiculturalism policies; its ultimate goal would be developing a pedagogical practice that is equal to all students, rather than separating the students by their ethnic backgrounds (multicultural students vs. regular students).

Previous studies mostly analyzed the current multiculturalism education policies in Korea, or education policies, among other multicultural policies, were compared with other countries. Not many studies have directly compared the education policies in detail from various aspects. Although the purpose behind comparing multiculturalism policies of Korea and other countries was to observe various policies from each country and find the most suitable policies to model, modeling after the country that is recognized as the most successful in implementing multiculturalism would be effective, regardless of the cultural differences between Korea and Canada.

ii. Purpose of the study

Many countries have been declaring their failure in multicultural policies. Most recently, European countries, such as the UK, Germany, and France have announced that they have been unsuccessful in developing a multicultural society. Korea has been implementing various multicultural policies for the increasing number of immigrants. However, the practicality of these policies and the improper use of budget have been created controversy. The imprudent use of budgets, the possible threat of losing jobs to foreigners, and the quick spread of news of crimes committed by foreigners through the Internet and SNS have created anti-multicultural attitude in Korean society. For example, people have reacted negatively towards the news that 100,000 foreign workers from Malawi could be coming to Korea (Media Daum, 2013). Some have posted derogatory and slanderous comments about the Malawians. Previous studies have reported that these perceptions can be improved through proper education

on multiculturalism. This study compared the differences in multicultural education policies between Korea and Canada, as Canada is recognized worldwide as the most successful country in implementing the idea of multiculturalism. Therefore, the current study will observe the differences between Korea and Canada in terms of: multicultural education, language education, and teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism.

II. Literature Review

1. Definition of Multicultural Education and its Implementation in Korea

Education on multiculturalism began in the United States for the minority groups to regain their human rights. At the beginning stage of multiculturalism, as the number of immigrants was not significant, governments took the assimilation approach; to teach the minority groups the cultures of the majority group and draw the minority to become a full citizen of the majority society. As the number of minorities increased and more diversity began to appear in minority groups, the principles of assimilation approach transformed into 'Melting Pot' approach: combining various cultures, including both minority and majority cultures, to create one unified culture. This progressed further into 'Mosaic' approach; accepting both the minority and majority culture as separate entities, and respect all human rights regardless of ethnic backgrounds. As the number of migrant workers and international marriage families has increased in Korea, the need for education programs to help the minority groups adjust in Korea started to be issued. The development of multicultural education programs accelerated when Hines Ward, a Korean-American football player, visited Korea after the Superbowl (National Human Rights Commission of Korea, 2010).

Banks (1998) described that an ideal multicultural education should progress from content integration, knowledge construction, equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction, empowering school culture, to social structure formation. That is, an ideal multicultural education involves the entire population to understand multiculturalism and receive equal education to reduce biases, ultimately building an ideal school environment and social structure. Banks also explained that recognizing the dissonance between reality and theory, and continuous reformation to reduce the discrepancy is also an integral part of an ideal multicultural education (Jo, 2012). The ultimate goal of multicultural education would be to teach everybody the dignity of mankind and equality among humans (Campbell, 2004). Based on these ideology, multicultural education should include adjustment education for the minority group, identity education, minority society education, appreciation education of the minority group for the majority group (Jo, 2012).

Previous studies, however, has shown that multicultural education in Korea have not followed the ideal process Banks mentioned. Some educational programs for the majority group do exist. Nonetheless, because of the cost and efficiency, most multicultural education programs are targeted to minority groups and their main goal is to help them to adjust to Korean society. The problem with these programs is that they are able to provide aid for only short term, and programs that support the multicultural population continually for longer term is inadequate within the curricula. In order for the multicultural population to settle in and function as society members, their unique culture and independence must be acknowledged through educating the public. Unfortunately, the number of the programs available for the general students is low. Because of the lack of education on multiculturalism and human rights, multicultural students are bullied and discriminated due to skin color, language, and culture. In more severe cases, some students drop out of school (Oh, 2006). Among multicultural students, children of migrant workers are

discriminated against the most, with the most common reason being because they are foreigners (Kim, 2006). Another study by Jeon et al. (2007) analyzed the problems of the current multicultural education policies, and found lack of cooperation between departments, limited number of beneficiaries, event-based programs, lack of promotion, and limited fulfillment of the demands as reasons behind the problems. These show the necessity to modify the current education programs. Furthermore, although the curriculum and textbooks contain contents on multiculturalism (Ministry of Education & Human Resources, 2006; Ministry of Education, Science, & Technology, 2008), there is no specific section covering multiculturalism. Rather, the contents are discretely included throughout the curriculum (Jang & Jeong, 2012). As a result, current multicultural education in Korea depends heavily on the attitude and competence of the teacher on multiculturalism.

2. The Role of Teachers in Multiculturalism

Banks (2004) listed the qualities as a multicultural teacher. First, multicultural teachers have to have knowledge on social sciences and education principles. Second, multicultural teachers must have an accurate understanding of his/her own culture and other cultures. Third, multicultural teachers must have a non-discriminant attitude towards any ethnic group. Finally, multicultural teachers must have a teaching method based on instructional knowledge. Jang (2009) also listed requirements as a multicultural teacher in Korea. To be a multicultural teacher in Korea, one must recognize the current society's cultural situation properly; improve and reinterpret the stereotypes from various perspectives; accept all cultures and implement pedagogical practice based on equality; and ultimately foster independent, democratic citizens of Korea (Jang, 2009). To be such teacher, one also has to have a high cultural competence with rich knowledge on other cultures (Jang, 2011). A high cultural competence of the teacher

would affect the students to adjust faster and have more accepting studying attitude (Han, 2010).

Comparing to Banks' (2004) virtues, Korea's multicultural teachers understand the need for multicultural education, have appropriate attitudes, and have high understanding of the education program (Jang & Jeong, 2012). However, a study by Jang and Jeong (2012) also found that Korean teachers exhibited a low level of increase in expertise. Thus, compared to high awareness, Korean multicultural teachers had low personal interest in expanding knowledge on other ethnicities and cultures, which could lead to having difficulties in developing class materials to teach multiculturalism. This corresponds to Park's study (2009), which found that only 2.9% of the teachers took classes on multiculturalism during undergrad, and only 10.5% received teacher training on multiculturalism. Therefore, the ability to implement multicultural education is subpar for the Korean teachers (Choi, 2009; Jang & Jeong, 2012). Because there is a lack of programs in multicultural education for teaching prospects, Korea's multicultural education heavily depends on the personal interest of a teacher and his/her understanding on multiculturalism (Jang, 2011).

One of the most difficult aspects for teachers is the language education. From difficulties running a class due to low fluency in Korean to have suspicions that the multicultural students are mocking the teacher when the students talk in their native language; many difficulties with language were reported. To reduce language problems, many schools run language classes for multicultural students. Not many problems have been reported on the language programs themselves. However, lack of emotional support for students in language program has been reported in previous studies. Other than language classes, the most common method schools use is to enroll multicultural students in lower year. Although there are advantages in enrolling students in lower year, being put in same class with younger peers may affect multicultural students to feel inadequate and insecure. Also, multicultural students in lower year are ridiculed and bullied because

they are older than the rest of the class, leading to maladjustment.

3. Language Programs in Korea

Although many studies have reported that multicultural students have difficulty adjusting in school, the findings on language programs were mostly positive. One study observed the outcomes of language programs in model schools. Results showed that language programs led to deeper understanding of the multicultural student, academic growth, and improvement in student-teacher relationship in most model schools (Lee, 2009). However, some schools reported that some students misbehaved in class because they did not want to be treated differently (Lee, 2009). Language programs are usually run either as after-school program or a replacement class during Korean class. Both methods could give negative emotional effects on students. If multicultural students are gathered separately for the language class, these students are isolated from the rest of the class, losing the peer bond with regular students. After-school programs are beneficial in parents' perspective because with the current status of the multicultural families, parents are likely to work late hours. Having a place their children can stay under adult supervision brings a sense of security to parents. From the students' perspective, however, much like the reaction of any other students, having to stay at school after hours could be irritating. Students could also feel inferior to others and lose their motivation to learn Korean when they realize they are taking supplementary classes because they are not doing well in school (Lee, 2009).

Another problem in language class is that the number of teachers qualified to teach Korean is significantly low. Language class teachers must be able to plan and implement lesson plans; describe the question; correct mistakes; create materials; evaluate students; and counsel students and parents (Oh, 2010). The expertise in the field is crucial as not only are

they in charge of teaching languages, but they also have to provide guidance for parents. However, in order to have such expertise, one must have a depth of experience in education. One study showed that the number of years teaching affected the efficacy beliefs of kindergarten teachers on multicultural education (Chae & Shin, 2012). Because the longer the teaching career, the more opportunities to enrich knowledge on pedagogy and personal interest, having a depth of experience in teaching is crucial in providing support for multicultural students. Moreover, longer teaching career also means more flexibility in class material preparation and accommodating the instant interests of the students (Chae & Shin, 2012).

4. Multicultural Education – Canada.

Unlike Korea, which have just began to study the child-rearing methods and support for multicultural families, policies for the Natives, associated states and immigrants have been established for a significant period of time in Western countries. At the beginning, the multicultural policies in Western countries were also rooted in assimilation and homogeneity (Kymlicka, 2007). In North America, history shows that Europeans colonized America and removed the Aborigines from their land and attempted to assimilate them into the European culture. Furthermore, even within White populations, English Canadians attempted to assimilate French Canadians until Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau declared French as one of the official languages of Canada (Esses & Gardner, 1996). However, with rapid increase in minority populations, Kymlicka (2007) believed that the multicultural policies have transformed to accept each culture and their rights in language and autonomy. Moreover, a study by Jung-Gyu Kim (2010) showed that countries accepting multiculturalism tend to run policies considering the characteristics of minority groups, redistribution of political power and resources, and national unification.

A study comparing multicultural policies of the U.S., Canada, and

Australia showed that each country's policies were slightly different (Kim, 2010). Although both the United States and Australia have policies based on assimilation, the U. S. acknowledges the diversity whereas Australia attempts to have other cultures absorbed into the traditional 'White Australian' culture. Canada, on the other hand, each ethnicity is able to maintain their identity along with building the 'Canadian' identity; putting Canada ahead of the States and Australia in terms of integration of cultural identities (Kim, 2010). Studies comparing the policies of Germany, France, the States, and Canada showed that Canada had more positive reviews in social integration policies than other countries (Huh & Jung, 2011; Kim, 2012). Thus, from the political perspective, Canada's multicultural policies could be an exemplary candidate for Korea to model after.

In most nations, education plays a critical role in creating national identity. In Canada, not only the education on national identity, more contents on human rights and diversity also have started to appear on textbooks. Promoting national identity and multiculturalism appeared to be contradictory to each other, raising concerns on national unity. Currently, the civics education incorporates the traditional principles of nationalism, as well as multiculturalism and human rights. Instead of having two concepts on each ends of the linear scale, the concepts are rather interactive (Bromley, 2011). In short, with the interaction of the two concepts, multiculturalism and diversity become 'nationalized' and multiculturalism is fused into Canada's national identity (Philippou, Keating, & Hinderliter Ortloff, 2009). This was proven in Bromley's study (2011) by analyzing the textbooks used in British Columbia. The results showed that more than half of the textbooks introduce human rights and multiculturalism through Canadian law or social protocol. This means that students are taught that every citizen has equal human rights and to respect other cultures, but the government limits the protection of the human rights and multiculturalism to the 'citizens' of Canada. Within the legal boundaries,

each citizen is free to express multiple ethnic identities (Bromley, 2011).

Despite all the positive reputations on Canada's multicultural policies, some criticisms also exist. Canada's population still consists majorly of White population from England and France. The root of Canada's multiculturalism started as accepting languages, instead of cultures (House, 1992). Because England and France had colonized many countries they had considered as "inferior", the said countries, a significant part of Africa and Asia, spoke English or French. According to Brown (2008), a Jamaican-Canadian who immigrated to Canada in 1969, explained that Trudeau's multicultural policy started in order to prevent the separation of the French population (Brown, 2008; House, 1992). Trudeau's original intention was to endow equal power to both French and English, only in languages; no consideration on ethnic backgrounds occurred at the time (Brown, 2008). The emphasis on ethnicity came along afterwards. Furthermore, Canada was technically a colony of Britain and France, with the Aboriginal population as the colonized. However, the movements to ensure the rights of the Aboriginal population did not come until later, and the effectiveness of the Aboriginal decrees are still in debate.

Brown (2008) also argued that the Canadian education system exerts less emphasis on slavery, colonization, and political domination. The curriculum downplays the traumatic experiences of the ethnic minorities and the teachers are not prepared to discuss such topics through the curriculum. Furthermore, the stereotypes continue to exist in the Canadian society. Much like the U.S., Canada's black population is still viewed as having low socioeconomic status, tend to be less educated, with higher crime rates. Although Canada accepts and respects each ethnic group's own culture, little action is taken to mitigate the socioeconomic gap between the majority group and minority groups. As a result, students learn the importance of multiculturalism and equality; however, they also see the society with no equality in capital gain.

Along the similar line, some Canadian textbooks also covers cultural

clash between majority and minority cultures (Bromley, 2011). Bromley (2011) introduced a textbook that included a controversial case where a religious practice created a conflict with safety regulations. Although the ruling of this case showed that the liberality in religion and its respective culture is respected, the conflicts between cultures, based on history and/or religion, nonetheless exist.

There are few studies comparing the overall multicultural policies between Korea and Canada. One study compared the multicultural policies of Korea, Canada, and Japan (Jang, 2010). The results showed that a direct comparison of policies among the countries is difficult due to the unique culture in all countries. However, since Korea's multicultural policies have not been established completely, it would be beneficial for Korea to refer to the policies of Canada; a country with fully established legal system and policies on multiculturalism (Jang, 2010).

III. Methods

A. Participants

The purpose of this study is to provide direction to the future multicultural education policies by comparing the multicultural education in Korea and Canada. Two non-government organization workers participated in the interview. One participant, Pastor Chun Ung Park has been working to preserve the rights of multicultural population in Ansan since the 1990s. In discussing multiculturalism in Korea, Pastor Park is recognized as an integral figure. Not only is he the first doctorate on multiculturalism in Korea, he coined the term 'Kosian', which represented the international marriage population before the term 'multicultural family' surfaced. Furthermore, he has founded and has been appointed as the representative for various organizations working towards the human rights of multicultural

populations, including Borderless Village, Ansan Foreign Center, and Migration and Human Rights Association. Pastor Park is also the author of 'The Genesis of Multicultural Education', and has been asked for counsel by various schools on running programs on multiculturalism. Finally, he is the recipient of the Minister of Culture, Sports and Tourism Award in 2007 for his work with multiculturalism. Another participant is the principal of the after-school for multicultural students. Principal Kim is the wife of Pastor Park, and has been working alongside Pastor Park.

B. Data Collection

The data for the current study consists of the in-depth interview, personal observation, and research. The interview was conducted as part of curriculum for 'Theories and Practice of Multiculturalism' at Yonsei University, a class offered for graduate students by the Graduate Department of Education. This class is taught by Dr. Jin-Sang Han, the author of the few of the studies referenced in the current study. Interview was conducted twice: May 19, 2013 with the pastor, and May 26, 2013 with the principal. All interviews were conducted at Ansan Foreign Center, and all interviews were unstructured. However, interview questions were developed through class discussion before the interviews. All of the contents were recorded by digital voice recorder. A total of six questions were developed during class discussion, and one question was asked during the interview for the interview with Pastor Park. With the principal, a total of six questions were also developed during class discussion, and two questions on alternative school was also asked during the interview.

Research data were to observe Canada's multicultural education policies. The data consists of previous studies and textbooks while the experimenter was attending schools in Canada. The findings from previous studies consist of the studies conducted in Korea comparing the multicultural policies, and studies from Canada on Canada's multiculturalism. To compare

the teacher's attitude on multicultural education, personal observation of the researcher was included. However, the researcher included objective aspect of the personal experience, removing any personal sentiments towards the teachers. Finally, the multiculturalism policy proposal by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2013) was used in observing the educational policies in Korea.

IV. Discussion

A. Difference in Multicultural Education between Korea and Canada

Through the interview with the principal, the researcher found out that much like the findings from the previous studies, the current multicultural education in Korean public schools are only applied to minority groups.

Principal: Last month, the immigrant children told us they went on a field trip, just them. I later found out that the school took only the multicultural students and took them to the court, using the project funds. Our teachers and I thought it was ridiculous. Why would they bring them to court? Why didn't they bring all the students? Why just the multicultural students? (Interview on May 26, 2013).

Pastor also emphasized that the current minority group-based education should transform to the education program for the general population; not just for the students. This was also reflected in the multicultural policies presented by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. In their program plans for 2013-2017, the focus on the programs are on the improvement in language fluency and general academic ability of multicultural students. Programs on education general population was proposed less (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family, 2013).

Pastor: They need to get rid of the bias that multicultural education is for the minority groups. If so, general population as well as the multicultural students should receive education on multiculturalism. How many multicultural adolescents do you think there are? Let's say 100,000. Then, how many are the general students? What I'm saying is that, as the Multicultural Family Law excluded all the other minority groups other than the international marriage families, the government is excluding everybody else other than the supposed 100,000 multicultural students in education. (Interview on May 19, 2013)

Furthermore, in managing the multicultural students, public schools delegated the management to only few teachers; even in schools where more than half the students are from minority groups.

Principal: One school made a 'Multicultural Children Management Card', like some sort of personnel management card. In the making process, they had an intense inquiry of the students' information. I really didn't want to give them that information. What's worse is that one teacher, one teacher, would be managing the whole system. I don't think it was advisable. The children don't like it. Not many parents have the ability to inquire much about the management program.

The contents of the multicultural education were also inappropriate according to the pastor. Rather than teaching them the essentials, such as guiding in having healthy interpersonal relationships and providing them aid in school adjustment, the current education mostly focuses on introducing different cultures.

Pastor: ...People think, from an evolutionary perspective, that they have the most advanced culture, and that the others should be labelled as 'savages', 'uncivilized', 'primitive', and be controlled that way. Same kinds of thoughts are portrayed in media too. Therefore, they

have the bias that ‘the 3rd World should be like this.’ Think about how those incorrect biases contribute to us. We need to change the textbooks. Check out the multicultural education programs at school. This is just international relations education. Nobody teaches anything about interpersonal relationships and how to form a respectable one. International relations educations show up on TV all the time. Everybody learns about it already. We need to look at the textbooks with some critical perceptions.

Although not a member of public organization, but as a member of the educators devoted in multicultural education, the NGO representatives strongly felt that the current education does not provide the essentials that students require. Especially, the opinion seemed stronger when they mentioned that even at Won-gok elementary school, where more than half the students are from minority groups, the multicultural programs are not operated properly, and the principals do not want to have multicultural students because of the reputation. More will be discussed in the ‘Attitudes towards multicultural students’ section.

Overall, the NGO representatives showed concerns on separating the multicultural students and administer programs and events only for them. Furthermore, as experts in the field, they wished the educational aim for multicultural students to be shifted to aid the multicultural students to allow them to be a part of the class, and encourage them to form relationships, and interact equally, rather than providing them with informations on other cultures.

In Canada, through the researcher’s personal observation, no class teaches multiculturalism specifically. However, in Social Studies class in elementary & middle school, students learn that the Canadian population comprises of people from various countries and cultures, and the Social Studies class focuses on the various ethnic backgrounds in Canada and how to live harmoniously. Furthermore, if a student was making derogatory comments on someone’s ethnicity, that student would receive a strict

form of punishment, such as temporary suspension. In Ontario, where the researcher attended schools growing up, one would learn more about multiculturalism at high school: through Civics class at Grade 10, and Sociology/Psychology/Anthropology (S.A.P) class in Grade 11. Similar curriculum applies to the B.C. education system (Bromley, 2011). Civics class introduces Canada's policies, basic rights as a Canadian citizen, judicial system, and politics. Its purpose was to form a group with a sense of belonging to the country. However, the current emphasis on citizenship extends from the national boundary (Bromley, 2011). Through the Multiculturalism Act, and as a basic virtue in a democratic society, students learn multiculturalism as a political idea; in S.A.P. class (an elective subject), students would look at multiculturalism again from a social perspective. Overall, all students start to receive education on multiculturalism at a young age in Canada. Furthermore, the effect is maximized by integrating the notion of 'respecting other cultures' with basic human rights.

B. Differences in Language Education between Canada and Korea

In Korean school environment, the most common method for language education is to enroll the multicultural student in lower year than his/her actual age. It happens more often for the immigrant students who are exposed to Korean language less than students from international marriage families. Because the students' language proficiency does not comply with the grade level, some students are enrolled one or two, sometimes even three, years lower than the actual year he/she should be in by age. This may be necessary for the multicultural students themselves, the regular students, and for the class itself. However, these students were not receiving sufficient psychological care and support after being enrolled in lower year, according to Principal. In reality, these students, regardless of the language problem, were not forming good friendships with classmates

and showed some intimidation in their behaviors. Furthermore, the researcher found that schools tend to assign students from same ethnic background in same classroom, which ends up minority students only interacting with minority students. Upon telling the aforementioned cases, Principal emphasized the competence of the teachers in dealing with multicultural students.

Principal: ...because it's like that, students do not feel any sense of belonging to the peer groups. They mostly interact with themselves (the multicultural students) and they do that again here at our center. Because they interact together more, they end up interacting with each other only. As a result, the multicultural students have little chance of having a sense of belonging to other peer groups. However, teachers, they can provide more opportunities. They can intervene. Like, when they assign seats, they can assign a student that is easy-going to be matched up with a multicultural student... I am a believer of teacher's intervention in these situations. If a teacher fosters an atmosphere suitable for the environment, that would be helpful for the multicultural students, and start building some understanding to one another.

In Canada, similar methods have been used to support the adjustment of immigrant students. For the immigrant students in Canada, many students enroll in lower year than their actual age. The author immigrated to Canada after finishing the 1st semester of 2nd year in middle school. However, the school board was concerned with language fluency, and asked if I would like to start from Grade 8 (equivalent of 2nd year middle school in Korea) again. In Canada, the border between Grade 8 and 9 could mean middle school and high school in most schools; making the decision appropriate.

In language education, cities with many immigrant students provide ESL (English as Second Language) classes. Before registering at a school, each student writes the number of years spent in Canada, and self-assessed

language fluency to the guidance counselor. Each student will be enrolled in ESL class after discussing with a guidance counselor. Although some differences exist by school board, ESL classes are divided into several levels, and students have a role in which level they are to be enrolled in. For example, ESL classes are operated with 5 levels in Toronto District School Board, and their actual year in school does not matter in taking the ESL classes (Toronto District School Board, 2009). If a student's language proficiency seems higher than the class requirements, with the teacher's judgment and the consent of the student, that student could move to a higher level in the ESL class, or even to a regular English class. If there are no ESL classes due to a little number of immigrant students, teaching assistants attend classes for the immigrant students and aid the students in understanding the class material. A significant number of them are not 'multicultural teachers', but many of them have educational background in special education for challenged students and students with low grades.

The main difference is that in Canada, although the teacher's efforts are also a significant contributor in adjusting, the school respects the students' independent choices. In peer relationships, an integral part of school life, Canadian schools leave it up to the students and their independent choices, rather than the teachers' intervention. It is common to see minority students mingling with peers from same ethnic background. This is a characteristic of Canada, where a significant amount of minority students are international students. Because international students do not receive intimate support physically from their families, they tend to mingle together and form a closer bond among themselves. Also, the number of minority students is higher in Canada than Korea because Canada simply has longer history of immigrants; helping the immigrant students to form friendship easier.

Overall, Canada and Korea's language education shared a similarity: schools tend to enroll students in lower year than their actual age, putting

language education in priority. The main differences, however, are that student's opinions are taken into account in enrollment and in the language education system. In Korea, the opinions of the students are not considered in enrollment, and the language education is not divided thoroughly. Furthermore, enrolling the student in lower year is the extent school is going to provide on adjustment support for the multicultural students. Consequently, the psychological support is not provided much. On the other hand, immigrant students in Canada prevent possible inferiority complex by assigning students in language classes regardless of their age. Furthermore, classes are separated into many levels and are free to advance depending on the language fluency of the student.

C. The difference in teachers' attitude towards multicultural students between Korea and Canada

Through the interview with Pastor and Principal, a negative perception on Korean schools and teachers were observed. Especially, they believed that teachers perceived multicultural students as potential threats for the class/school environment.

Principal: There is a tendency. A teacher would have multicultural students in his/her classroom. Then as soon as the multicultural students make trouble, they send them to "that" class. They think these students deter the entire class. If they don't perform as well as the other students, it is perceived as hindrance. You go there and hang out with friends who are similar to you. That is heartbreaking. If the students go there, it's like they are branded. If a teacher is really concerned and sends them there, that's great. However, most teachers send the students there because they do not want to handle a difficult situation.

In this context, "that class" means a classroom where all multicultural students are assigned to. The author was able to sense that the NGO

representatives were concerned about the multicultural students being perceived as problem students. This is because regardless of their backgrounds, only the grades and performance evaluation are used in school evaluation.

Principal: In our neighborhood, there are three elementary schools. More than half of the students are multicultural students in one of them. The academic achievement is significantly lower in that school. That's the trend. So the principals do not want to be in charge of those schools, because that would also affect their reputations.

As mentioned above, Korean teachers have the assimilative attitude on multicultural education. A report by the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family (2013) also showed that Korean population showed double standards towards advanced countries and developing countries. More importantly, their attitude on multicultural students limited the identity to being "Korean". Pastor used the example of school food and how teachers force the multicultural students to eat all the Korean food to explain the aforementioned attitude.

Pastor: (To the researcher) People look at you starting to take some Canadian cultures, and some will ask you, "You need to find your cultural identity. Are you a Korean or a Canadian?" Why do you need to ask that? You can maintain your Korean identity if you need it. If not, you can live as a Canadian. But how is the culture right now? Everybody looks at them and say they have to be Korean. They have to be Korean and they have to love Kimchi. To be Korean, one has to love Kimchi. People are injecting these stereotypes to these kids. And forcing the identity into them may bring out side effects. So they need to have a third identity.

Furthermore, from the school's perspective, multicultural students are

“supposed to” have poor living condition, with no financial flexibility; hence need to be protected. Pastor indirectly described this attitude with the example of field trips. This, he explained, is in line with the country viewing the minority culture as uncivilized.

Pastor: When they go somewhere, when they go camping, multicultural students do not pay for the trip. But other students do. What does that say? The multicultural students are being pointed as students under watch. Things like that are continuing in school system. As a result, a normal school education is being distorted. So the current multicultural education is all project based. If they run these multicultural education projects, who should ‘benefit’ from these projects? It has to be the multicultural children. (omit) The thought like that expresses the view that the minority cultures are uncivilized and barbaric.

In Canada’s teachers’ education, multicultural education teachers are not specialized. Canada’s teachers’ education is different by province. In Ontario, where the researcher went to schools, people enter undergraduate and advance to teachers’ college, where multiculturalism is part of the curriculum (Ontario College of Teachers). Consequently, “multicultural teacher” is defined as the teachers teaching in the Aboriginal reserve, and teachers with the ESL certificate only. However, the attitude of looking at every ethnicity equal and accepting other cultures are established as law. Moreover, these attitudes have been taught to the teachers since they were young. As a result, the attitude towards the multicultural students is indifferent to regular students.

V. Results, Limitations and Suggestions

This study aimed to bring some perspectives on the future direction of Korea’s multiculturalism education by comparing various aspects of

Korea and Canada's multicultural education. The results of interviewing multicultural NGO representatives for Korean aspect, and personal observation and analyzing the materials for Canadian aspect are as follows. In general comparison of Korea and Canada's multicultural education, the main difference was the target students. Korea's multicultural education still operates mostly targeting minority students, whereas every student learns of human rights and respect for ethnic diversity in Canada. Specifically, multicultural education in Korean schools only applies to multicultural students, with focus on language acquisition and learning Korean culture. On the other hand, Canada uses multiculturalism as a mandatory concept for students; that multiculturalism and respecting human rights are duties of being a Canadian. Furthermore, since the number of multicultural students is low, the education programs in Korea are mostly operated as short-term projects or cultural events, whereas multiculturalism is dispersed in Canadian education system as an integral ideology. Of course Canada has been accepting immigrants for longer periods of time than Korea, and the period multiculturalism has settled into the education ideology is significantly longer in Canada, with longer period to undergo several trials and errors. Therefore, it cannot be assessed that Korea's multicultural education is inferior to Canada's multicultural education. However, Korea's multicultural education cannot progress further from short-term projects without an increase and efficient use of the budget. Currently, Korea's public schools propose multicultural education projects to the Ministry of Education, and receive funds, which in turn, are combined with the school's general budget. Hence, in order to continue the development of multicultural education in Korea, as many studies have previously suggested, the government should gear the programs towards the general population, and assert multiculturalism as an educational ideology, respecting and accommodating each other regardless of ethnicity and cultural background. Furthermore, ultimately, the budget for the Ministry of Education should be increased to implement continuous

multiculturalism education programs, rather than intermittent events and short-term projects.

Second, comparing the language education between Korea and Canada, some similarities, such as enrolling students in lower grades than their age, existed in both countries. The most critical difference between two countries is whether the opinions of the students are taken into account. In Canada, upon entering schools, school board could suggest the student to be enrolled in lower year. However, if the student does not want to enroll in lower year, the school board accepts the choice. In Korea, students' opinions were not asked, and be put in a class based on language proficiency. As a result, some students are enrolled in a class with a significant age gap. Furthermore, classroom system is different between Korea and Canada. In Canada, classes are run with students moving into different classrooms every period. Also, as students attend higher schools, students have more liberty in taking high level classes, as long as prerequisites are met. Same applies to the ESL programs in Canada. ESL programs divide the students by language proficiency, but students are free to advance to higher level if they are performing well in class. In Korea, however, most schools have the format of students staying in one classroom, and teachers come in and out every period. As a result, the sense of 'homeroom' is stronger in Korean classrooms. Furthermore, in Eastern society, age is a significant factor in forming social groups. To be alienated from peers in same age group and studying with younger peers may be embarrassing to some students. Since most of the multicultural students are from Eastern Hemisphere countries (i.e. Japan, Mongolia, Vietnam, Philippines, China, etc.), many students could feel shame by being forced to enroll in lower years because of language proficiency. This may result in students to feel inferior to students in the same age group, and could lead to maladjustment in school. However, overhauling the entire classroom format just to treat the inferiority complex of the students would be inefficient. A suggestion would be an increase of teaching assistants with an educational

background in multicultural education and/or special education; instead of enrolling multicultural students in lower year without their consent. At the same time, schools need to raise awareness for general students to prevent multicultural students from ridicule and bullying because they receive help from the teaching assistants.

Finally, there was a significant difference in the attitudes of teachers towards multicultural students between the two countries. Previous studies on Korean teachers showed that teachers were aware of the importance of multicultural education and its effects. However, according to the interview, some teachers perceive the problems that multicultural students are facing as bothersome, and sometimes sends the students to the “multicultural students class” for the benefit of the general students in the class. Furthermore, as many of the multicultural students perform below average due to various reasons (i.e. low language proficiency, bullying, homesickness, etc.), some teachers have negative perspectives on multicultural students because lower grades could affect the reputation of the classroom and the school. The main reason for such attitudes is because teachers are viewing the multicultural students as separate entities, apart from the rest of the class. The fact that the number of multicultural students per classroom is small in Korea also solidifies such perspective. However, as much as receiving respect for their identities, multicultural population do not want to be labeled as ‘different’, and desire to interact with others as general members of society. This is in line with the multicultural policies in Canada, where each member of society is accepted as a regular member. Canadians grow up learning that everybody has basic rights to be respected regardless of ethnic backgrounds and cultures, and that it has to be obeyed by law (Multiculturalism Law, 1988). As a result, teachers view each student as a separate identity, rather than looking at them by their ethnic backgrounds. The current attitudes and policies towards the minority groups may be potential threat in Korea to develop as a globally recognized democratic country; especially with

the prediction that the number of immigrants will steadily increase. To form a successful multicultural society, education policies should concentrate on changing the perception of the views on multiculturalism, rather than on special education method for multicultural students. Before assorting citizens by their ethnic backgrounds and culture, the educational focus should be on that everybody is a 'human being' that has equal rights without discrimination; and that everyone's identity should be accepted and respected. If this principle is implemented in the minds of students, some of these students will become teachers, teaching the same principles to the next generation; ultimately building a strong multicultural society.

There are some limitations to the study. First is that the representatives of the multicultural NGO, instead of the school teachers, were interviewed. The advantage of interviewing NGO representatives is that they are working independently from school boards, and the Ministry of Education. This means that the change in policies by the Ministry would affect the organization less than public schools. Furthermore, the fact that the number of students per teacher is smaller in these organizations also helps in developing closer bonds with students and learning what they really want. Indeed, many contents of the interview came from the episodes that students told the teachers at Kosian's House. However, the contents of the interview may reflect the negative aspects of the public school's multicultural education more than reality. Although many contents of the interview came from the anecdotes from the students, one has to know that multicultural students are also students. What this means is that just like regular students, multicultural students also may not like to go to school or do not like his/her teacher for "regular reasons" (i.e. do not want to do homework; teacher is too strict, etc.)

Materials of Canada's multicultural education policies explain the current policies and curricula through the educator's perspective. Although the Canadian contents include the personal observation of the researcher's

time spent in school growing up, the experiences of the students in the most current period are lacking. As a result, it was difficult to find the students' opinions on multiculturalism. Future studies should investigate the opinions of current teachers and the students' opinions on multiculturalism and make an objective assessment. Furthermore, since Canada accepts immigrants from various countries, future studies on Canada's multicultural education should collect the needs from various cultures. This in turn would also aid in discovering the needs of the multicultural population in Korea's education.

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Appendix: Interview Questions

** The interview questions are translated in English for this paper.

Pastor Park

1. What is your opinion on multiculturalism in Korea being viewed as an environmental phenomena?
2. What are the positive aspects of multiculturalism? And do you have any personal experiences of the multicultural experiences transforming into theory?
3. Your papers talk about sulbatern and the sulbatern culture. However, those cultures are excluded when the government discusses multiculturalism. Why is that?
4. How can Korea achieve resistant multiculturalism? What is resistant multiculturalism and critical multiculturalism?
5. You talked about 3rd identity. How will the current trend of finding identity through culture affect the goals, process, and contents of the multicultural education?
6. Is there an ideal model or blueprint for multicultural education that you believe in?
7. Could you tell us any struggles and difficulties you faced during your work for the multicultural population?

Principal Kim

1. Based on your experience as an educator, are there any programs that you think is unnecessary for the multicultural students?
2. In your school, an alternative school, is there any code of ethics and rules that your students and teachers must follow? How are the relationships between students and teachers?
3. How are the interpersonal relationships amongst students in the school? Was there any problems such as bullying and outcast in this school? Are there no problems in this school that usually occurs in regular schools to the multicultural students?
4. Some students acquire Korean identity early. But that could also cause some identity issues. What kind of education should we take as educators on identity formation of these students?
5. How many students are attending at the facility? How many teachers are there?
6. Some people view alternative schools as educational isolation because it separates multicultural students into one environment. What are your thoughts?
7. Are there things that the general population could learn from the multicultural population? Anything that you have learned?

Language Shift on the Individual Level*

Orsolya Fazakas
(Eötvös Loránd University)

■ ABSTRACT ■

This paper focuses on a sociologic approach, the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen 1991) and a sociolinguistic field, the language shift (Fishman 1991, Crystal 2000). It describes the theoretical background of language shift and briefly mentions the history of Hungarian language and Romanian language contacts. After presenting language use of the Hungarian minority students and explaining the theory of planned behavior, it turns to apply the theory of planned behavior to the language shift from the view of bilingual speaker(s). This paper wants to propose the application of the theory of planned behavior in language shift and open new perspective in bilingual research.

Key Words

bilingualism, language use, minority, language shift, theory of planned behavior

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Introduction:

What is a border? Is it a frontier of languages? Human languages arise through a combination of universal shared capacities (Chomsky 1957), and the social interactions of individuals and communities. The goal of the study is to understand the mechanism and motivation of language contact on individual level that leads to language shift. This paper presents an analysis of a sociolinguistic field, the language shift and a sociologic approach, the theory of planned behavior. Language shift necessarily requires bilingual or multilingual communities, as there are at least two languages involved (the language shifted to and the language shifted from). Hence, Romanian language and Hungarian language are target languages. The aim of this paper is not to choose a side in a sensitive topic, as the Hungarian and Romanian bilingualism, but to offer a new point of view in bilingual research. This paper aims to apply the theory of planned behavior to the language shift from the view of bilingual speaker.

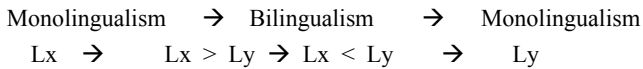
Literature Review:

Language shift (Appel & Muysken 1987, Hamers & Blanc 1989) has been a research topic within linguistics for approximately half a century, but a clear and universal definition seems to be lacking. However, there are three issues that frequently come up in discussions of language shift.

The first is 'changing patterns of language use'. This is based on the idea, that there are patterns of language variety and they are used according to the situation ('domains' cf. Fishman 1972:247-248). The second issue is the idea that language shift happens in a speech community. Language shift can be studied on the level of the individual speaker, but for sociolinguistic studies it only becomes interesting once the shift happens community-wide (Labov 1972:277). The third and final issue is that

language shift happens in a situation of language contact.

The process of language shift (Hamers & Blanc 1989:176):



If we accept that the language shift can be seen as a process and can be divided into periods then there are three major periods: (1) initial, (2) intermediate or advanced and (3) ending.

All communities living in language contacts can be placed somewhere on the process of language shift:

- Monolingualism in the original language of the community (minority language) (Lx),
- Bilingualism with dominancy of the community's (minority) language ($Lx > Ly$),
- Balanced bilingualism ($Lx = Ly$),
- Bilingualism with dominancy of the majority language ($Ly > Lx$),
- Monolingualism in the majority language (Ly).

When talking about the causes of language shift we should consider the macro-level and the micro-level factors. When Fishman talks of 'dislocation' of speakers from their physical, demographic, social and cultural environments (Fishman 1991:57-65) he gives macro-level causes of language shift. Crystal mentions 'factors which put people in physical danger' and 'factors which change the people's culture' (Crystal 2000: 70, 76). The list of Hyltenstam and Stroud describes the social level as it determines the status of minority and majority speech community (ideology of the majority, education, labor market etc.). The group level refers to the characteristics of the minority group (migration, geographical distance, language characteristics, official language, degree of bilingualism, institutions etc.). The individual level refers to minority members' speech

behavior. Language shift ultimately lies on the individual level (micro-level). This level describes the speech behaviors of individual community members (e.g. language choice), and the transmission of these speech behaviors as norms to other community members (e.g. socialization) (Hyltenstam-Stroud 1996:569). Socio-psychological concepts e.g. attitude, identity, prestige, stigma and ideology (Irvine & Gal 2000, Schieffelin & Woolard & Kroskrity 1998) are resources of language shift's literature.

The theory of planned behavior was designed by Icek Ajzen to predict and explain human behavior in specific contexts. The theory of planned behavior is an extension of the theory of reason action. The central factor in the theory is the individual's *intention* to perform a given behavior. Intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factors that influence behavior. Intention is an indication of how hard people are willing to try, of how much of an effort they are planning to exert, in order to perform the behavior (Ajzen 1991:181).

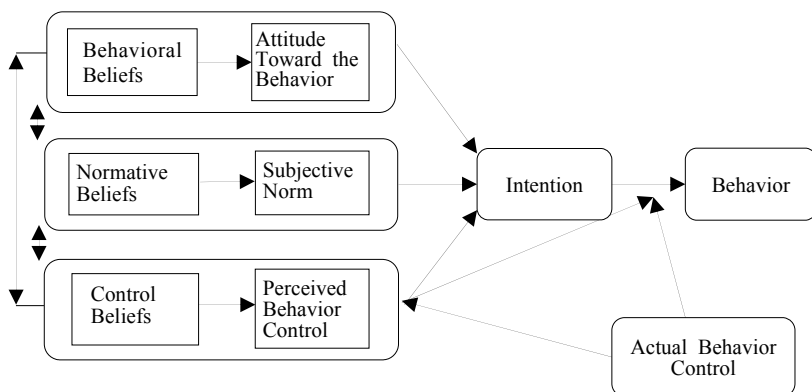


Figure. 1. Theory of planned behavior (<http://people.umass.edu/aizen/tpb.diag.html>)

The intention is based on *attitude toward the behavior*, *subject norm*, and *perceived behavioral control*.

Attitude toward the behavior is the degree to which performance of

the behavior is positively or negatively valued. Attitude toward a behavior is determined by the total set of accessible *behavioral beliefs* linking the behavior to various outcomes and other attributes (Ajzen 1991:188). Behavioral beliefs link the behavior of interest to expected outcomes. A behavioral belief is the subjective probability that the behavior will produce a given outcome. Although a person may hold many behavioral beliefs with respect to any behavior, only a relatively small number are readily accessible at a given moment (Ajzen 1991:191).

Subjective norm refers to the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior. Subjective norm is determined by the total set of accessible normative beliefs (Ajzen, 1991:188). *Normative beliefs* refer to the perceived behavioral expectations of such important referent individuals or groups as the person's spouse, family, friends, and - depending on the population and behavior studied - teacher, doctor, supervisor, and coworkers (Ajzen 1991:188-89; 195-96).

The third antecedent of intention is the degree of *perceived behavior control*, which refers to the perceived ease or difficulty of performing the behavior and it is assumed to reflect past experiences as well as anticipated impediment and obstacles. It is determined by the total set of accessible *control beliefs*. Control beliefs may be based in part of past experience with the behavior, but they usually also be influenced by second-hand information about the behavior, by the experiences of acquaintances and friends, and by other factors that increase or reduce the perceived difficulty of performing the behavior in question (Ajzen, 1991:188; 196-98). The *actual behavioral control* refers to the extent to which a person has the skills, resources, and other prerequisites needed to perform a given behavior.

Successful performance of the behavior depends not only on a favorable intention but also on a sufficient level of behavioral control. To the extent that perceived behavioral control is accurate, it can serve as a proxy of actual control and can be used for the prediction of behavior.

Analysis:

Historical background:

The national ideologies of the 19th century led to monolingual state pursuit in Central Europe during the 20th century. The countries were regionally and socially rearranged by that conception (e.g. Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia etc.) (Lampe & Mazower 2004). According to the 1910 Hungarian census, the total population of Transylvania was 5,259,918 people, of whom 2,829,389 were Romanian, 1,661,987 were Hungarian, and 565,004 German. After World War I, Transylvania was ceded to Romania under the Treaty of Trianon (1920) and Hungarians lost their previously dominant social position. The ethnical face of Transylvania was changed by the reshaped borders. Hungarian language was no more official language in Transylvania. In 1940, to partly compensate Hungary for the territories lost under the Trianon Treaty, the second Vienna Award briefly returned Northern Transylvania to Hungary until 1947 (Péntek & Benő 2003).

The history of this part of Europe is still cause of dispute, because the Hungarian and Romanian version of history can present different point of view over the matter. The historical events that took place in Eastern Europe in 1989 gave a chance to this part of the world for a new beginning. Political agreements gave official status of the Hungarian language in all localities where it is spoken by more than 20% of the population. Hungarian newspapers, books, broadcasting hours on public television exist in Romania. The Hungarian-speaking minority has chance for sending the children to elementary schools, high-schools, colleges and universities where the teaching is in Hungarian. There are cultural institutions such as Hungarian theatres and opera houses. Most ethnic Hungarians (approx. 90%) live in Transylvania, where they make up approx. 19% of the population. In 2002, 1,443,970 people declared Hungarian as their mother tongue. Hungarian-speaking minority of Romania decrease slowly

according to the census. The steady decreases due to low birth rates, emigration and assimilation (Benő & Szilágyi 2005).

The Education law was modified in 1999, and it is allowed to found Hungarian-language departments and faculties in universities. In the field of Hungarian-language higher education, the establishment by the Hungarian government of the Sapientia Hungarian Private University in Transylvania represented a big step forward. Instruction in the Hungarian language is given in four state universities: the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj, the University of Medicine and Pharmacology of Târgu Mureş, the Drama University of Târgu Mureş, and the Faculty of Hungarian Studies of the University of Bucharest. Denominational institutes include the Hungarian-language university level Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj, The Catholic Theological University of Alba Iulia, and the Partium Christian University of Oradea.

Principles of the language practice and shift and their empirical base:

Hungarian students in Romania are shifting from Hungarian language to Romanian language. Their case illustrates the important role of language shift's factors.

The data of this study were collected from two sources, the written (questionnaire) source and oral (interview) source in Partium. I got the exact number of the Hungarian minority students from the Ministry of Education, Research, Youth and Sport of Romania in December 2010, and approximately 3% of them participated in the research. 750 students filled in the questionnaires from Primary Schools to High Schools; 100 students filled in the questionnaires from the University of Partium. Totally I have 850 questionnaires. I collected 25 interviews from each level (totally 75 interviews). In this paper I present preliminary results of the research,

the data of 100 questionnaires.

There are two Romanian and two Hungarian ethnic blocks in Transylvania. Thus there are mixed ethnical zones between these blocks. The dominant language of families is Hungarian (80%). When students start conversations with their families they use their mother tongue more often than when their parents start a conversation (the result is 5% higher). The Hungarian minority must know the majority language, Romanian, as well as the minority language. The decisions of those parents, who belong to the Hungarian minority, are led by rational economic considerations. Self enforcements of the minority inside the Romanian majority society are important factors of the decision. What language is used by friends or neighbors will be used by students as well. The students use to speak with Hungarian schoolmates in Hungarian and with Romanian schoolmates in Romanian. The teaching programs of minority and majority students have different syllabuses and books until they start the high school. The materials of the exams are similar, and the syllabuses become similar only in high school. The church is a typical social context where the Hungarian language is the dominant language. Language use is more divided in formal communications. The minority group can't avoid the majority and the official language in public events. Language use is controlled by the majority in formal scenes (Post office, Medical center, Office, Pharmacy, and Police). The minority group and its members must use the languages according to the scenes. One question was that: "What language do you use in the pharmacy?" and they also had to write a typical dialogue that might happen in a pharmacy. 50% of the students used both languages in the pharmacy, 35% spoke Romanian and only 15% used Hungarian. Even though 37% of the students did not write dialogue, 44% of the students wrote it in Romanian and 19% in Hungarian. Minority languages cannot compete with official languages in the interior market of the languages (De Swaan 2002).

The participants had to answer the following question: „Do you consider

your sentence in Hungarian before you tell it in Romanian?" The eighth grade students' answers were: 24% „yes”, 30% „frequently”, 32% „rarely” and 14% „no”. After two years in the education system, the tenth grade students' answers were: 8% „yes”, 18% „frequently”, 32% „rarely” and 42% „no”. The language use is divided by functional utility. Thus the bilingualism is asymmetric and it doesn't necessarily lead to language change but it causes assimilation. 56% of the students think that if someone speaks only Hungarian it will be hard for him to succeed and 44% think that he can have difficulties in Romania. If someone knows only Romanian, 76% of them think that it will be easy for him to succeed and 24% think that he can have difficulties.

During the education the students from the bilingualism with dominance of the community's (minority) language ($L_x > L_y$) get to the bilingualism with dominance of the majority language ($L_y > L_x$) (Hamers & Blanc 1989:176). The language of education, the bilingual environment and the labor market have important roles in the dominance change of the speakers. The restricted platforms of language use are due to the dominance of the official language.

Language shift and choice:

Self-enforcing is well-known terms of the minority social discourse, it refers mostly to the choice of language of education. One of the most important tools of a minority to succeed is a high-level competence of the official language in the daily life. The Romanian language has high status in the society and the Hungarian language has low status.

According to the theory of planned behavior there is a speaker (e.g. a young adult, a student) who belongs to the Hungarian-speaking minority. The given behavior what this speaker, the member of the minority group, should perform, if the speaker wants to succeed, is that the speaker must

know the majority language on high-level.

The speaker's intention depends on the attitude toward the behavior. The speaker's attitude is positive or at least not negative toward the given behavior. Although the speaker holds many behavioral beliefs towards the given behavior only a relatively small number activate and make his attitude more positive than negative (example: if he knows the majority language very well he will get a better degree, job, bigger salary, he will be more integrated to the society etc). According to the subjective norm and the normative beliefs mean, that those persons who are important to the speaker, have expectations and pressures on him to perform the given behavior. The speaker's teachers, classmates, parents, and friends, etc. want him to know the majority language on a high level, and he is also motivated to perform this behavior. The third element of intention is the degree of perceived behavior control, which is determined by control beliefs. The speaker thinks that he can solve all problems and difficulties (knowing the majority language on a high level, identity's problems what are caused by the language shift, etc.) that are against the language shift. The speaker thinks that the planned behavior, the language shift, can be fulfilled relatively easily. According to the actual behavioral control the speaker has all skills and recourses what are needed to perform the given behavior (he is able to study the majority language on a high-level). Successful performance of the behavior, in this case the language shift depends not only on a favorable intention but also on a sufficient level of behavioral control.

Conclusion:

A community is the center of language shift (see literature review). Researches examine communities, external and objective (society, politics, etc.) factors and effects of these factors on language choice of the

communities. The center of socio-psychological researchers is the person, the individual (Fasold 1984:187) as it was shown by the theory of planned behavior. Izek Ajzen's theory can be applied not only in psychology and sociology but also in a special field of linguistics, in sociolinguistics.

The theory of planned behavior helps understanding human behavior in context of language shift. It can be a key to understand the decisions of the bilingual speaker: when and how he makes his decisions on languages.

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『비교문화연구』 연구윤리 규정

제1장 총 칙

제1조(목 적) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소 ‘연구윤리위원회’의 구성 및 운영에 관한 사항을 규정함을 목적으로 한다.

제2조(적용대상) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소에 논문을 투고하는 모든 연구자를 적용대상으로 한다.

제3조(적용범위) 본 규정은 경희대학교 비교문화연구소와 관련된 모든 연구, 집필 활동을 적용 범위로 삼는다.

제4조(용어의 정의) 본 규정에 사용하는 용어의 정의는 다음과 같다.

- ① 연구 부정행위(이하 “부정행위”라 한다)라 함은 연구의 제안, 연구의 수행, 연구결과와 보고 및 발표 등에서 행하여진 위조·변조·표절·부당한 논문저자 표시 행위 등을 말하며 다음 각 호와 같다.
 1. “위조”는 존재하지 않는 데이터 또는 연구결과 등을 허위로 만들어 내는 행위를 말한다.
 2. “변조”는 연구 재료·장비·과정 등을 인위적으로 조작하거나 데이터를 임의로 변형·삭제함으로써 연구 내용 또는 결과를 왜곡하는 행위를 말한다.
 3. “표절”이라 함은 타인의 아이디어, 연구내용·결과 등을 정당한 승인 또는 인용 없이 도용하는 행위를 말한다.
 4. “부당한 논문저자 표시”는 연구내용 또는 결과에 대하여 학술적 공헌 또는 기여를 한 사람에게 정당한 이유 없이 논문저자 자격을 부여

- 하지 않거나, 학술적 공헌 또는 기여를 하지 않은 자에게 감사의 표시 또는 예우 등을 이유로 논문저자 자격을 부여하는 행위를 말한다.
5. 본인 또는 타인의 부정행위 혐의에 대한 조사를 고의로 방해하거나 제보자에게 위해를 가하는 행위
 6. 기타 학계에서 통상적으로 용인되는 범위를 심각하게 벗어난 행위
 7. 타인에게 상기의 부정행위를 행할 것을 제안·강요하거나 협박하는 행위
- ② “제보자”라 함은 부정행위를 인지한 사실 또는 관련 증거를 본 연구소에 알린 자를 말한다.
 - ③ “피조사자”라 함은 제보 또는 본 연구소의 인지에 의하여 부정행위의 조사 대상이 된 자 또는 조사 수행 과정에서 부정행위에 가담한 것으로 추정되어 조사의 대상이 된 자를 말하며, 조사과정에서의 참고인이나 증인은 이에 포함되지 아니한다.
 - ④ “예비조사”라 함은 부정행위의 혐의에 대하여 공식적으로 조사할 필요가 있는지 여부를 결정하기 위한 절차를 말한다.
 - ⑤ “본 조사”라 함은 부정행위의 혐의에 대한 사실 여부를 입증하기 위한 절차를 말한다.
 - ⑥ “판정”이라 함은 조사결과를 확정하고 이를 제보자와 피조사자에게 문서로써 통보하는 절차를 말한다.

제2장 연구진실성 검증

제5조(부정행위 제보 및 접수)

- ① 제보자는 본 연구소에 구술·서면·전화·전자우편 등 가능한 모든 방법으로 제보할 수 있으며, 실명으로 제보함을 원칙으로 한다. 실명 제보는 연구소 차원에서 보호한다. 단, 익명으로 제보할 경우, 구체적인

부정행위의 내용과 증거가 제출되어야 한다.

- ② 제보 내용이 허위인 줄 알았거나 알 수 있었음에도 불구하고 이를 신고한 제보자는 보호 대상에 포함되지 않는다.

제6조(예비조사의 기간 및 방법)

- ① 예비조사는 신고접수일로부터 15일 이내에 착수하고, 조사시작일로부터 30일 이내에 완료하며, 편집위원회의를 거쳐 연구소장의 승인을 받는다.
- ② 예비조사에서는 다음 각 호의 사항에 대한 검토를 실시한다.
 - 1. 제보내용이 제4조제1항의 부정행위에 해당하는지 여부
 - 2. 제보내용이 구체성과 명확성을 갖추어 본 조사를 실시할 필요성과 실익이 있는지 여부
 - 3. 제보일이 시효기산일로부터 5년을 경과하였는지 여부
- ③ 예비조사는 편집위원 주도로 이루어지되, 필요한 경우 관련 전문가 또는 별도의 소위원회를 구성하여 조사를 의뢰할 수 있다.

제7조(예비조사 결과의 보고)

- ① 예비조사 결과는 연구소장의 승인을 받은 후 10일 이내에 피조사자와 제보자에게 문서로써 통보한다. 다만 제보자가 익명인 경우에는 그렇지 아니하다.
- ② 예비조사 결과보고서에는 다음 각 호의 내용이 포함되어야 한다.
 - 1. 제보의 구체적인 내용
 - 2. 조사의 대상이 된 부정행위 혐의 및 관련 연구과제
 - 3. 본 조사 실시 여부 및 판단의 근거
 - 4. 기타 관련 증거 자료

제8조(본 조사 착수 및 기간)

- ① 본 조사는 연구소장의 예비조사결과 승인 후 30일 이내에 착수되어야 하며, 이 기간 동안 본 조사 수행을 위한 위원회(이하 “조사위원회”라고 한다)를 구성하여야 한다.
- ② 본 조사는 판정을 포함하여 조사시작일로부터 90일 이내에 완료하도록 한다.
- ③ 조사위원회가 제2항의 기간 내에 조사를 완료할 수 없다고 판단될 경우 연구소장의 승인을 얻어 30일 한도 내에서 기간을 연장할 수 있다.

제9조(조사위원회의 구성)

- ① 조사위원회는 편집위원들을 포함하며, 총 구성원을 7인 이하로 정한다. 조사위원장은 조사위원가운데서 호선으로 한다.
- ② 당해 조사 사안과 이해갈등 관계가 있는 자는 조사위원회에 포함시키지 않는다.

제10조(출석 및 자료제출 요구)

- ① 조사위원회는 제보자·피조사자·증인 및 참고인에 대하여 진술을 위한 출석을 요구할 수 있으며, 이 경우 피조사자는 반드시 응하여야 한다.
- ② 조사위원회는 피조사자에게 자료의 제출을 요구할 수 있다.

제11조(제보자와 피조사자의 권리 보호 및 비밀엄수)

- ① 어떠한 경우에도 제보자의 신원을 직·간접적으로 노출시켜서는 아니 되며, 제보자의 성명은 반드시 필요한 경우가 아니면 제보자 보호 차원에서 조사결과 보고서에 포함하지 아니 한다.
- ② 부정행위 여부에 대한 검증이 완료될 때까지 피조사자의 명예나 권리가 침해되지 않도록 주의하여야 하며, 무혐의로 판명된 피조사자의 명예회복을 위해 노력하여야 한다.

- ③ 제보·조사·심의·의결 및 건의조치 등 조사와 관련된 일체의 사항은 비밀로 하며, 다만 합당한 공개의 필요성이 있는 경우 연구소장의 승인을 거쳐 공개할 수 있다.

제12조(이의제기 및 변론의 권리 보장) 조사위원회는 제보자와 피조사자에게 의견진술, 이의제기 및 변론의 권리와 기회를 동등하게 보장하여야 하며, 관련 절차를 사전에 알려주어야 한다.

제13조(본조사 결과보고서의 제출)

- ① 조사위원회는 이의제기 또는 변론의 내용을 토대로 조사결과보고서(이하 “최종보고서”라 한다)를 작성하여 연구소장에게 제출한다.
- ② 최종 보고서에는 다음 각 호의 사항이 포함되어야 한다.
 - 1. 제보 내용
 - 2. 조사의 대상이 된 부정행위 혐의 및 관련 연구과제
 - 3. 해당 연구과제에서의 피조사자의 역할과 혐의의 사실 여부
 - 4. 관련 증거 및 증인
 - 5. 조사결과에 대한 제보자와 피조사자의 이의제기 또는 변론 내용과 그에 대한 처리결과
 - 6. 조사위원 명단

제14조(판정)

- ① 조사위원회는 연구소장의 승인을 받은 후 최종 보고서의 조사내용 및 결과를 확정하고 이를 제보자와 피조사자에게 통보한다.
- ② 조사내용 및 결과에 대한 합의가 이루어지지 않을 경우 표결로 결정할 수 있으며, 이 경우 재적위원 과반수 이상의 출석 및 출석위원 3분의 2이상의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제3장 검증 이후의 조치

제15조(결과에 대한 조치 및 기록의 공개)

- ① 부정행위가 확인된 논문에 대해서는 해당 학술지 논문 목록에서 삭제하고 이를 연구소 홈페이지를 통해 공지한다. 아울러 논문 투고자는 향후 3년간 논문 투고를 금지한다.
- ② 최종보고서는 판정이 끝난 이후에 공개할 수 있으나, 제보자·조사위원·증인·참고인·자문에 참여한 자의 명단 등 신원과 관련된 정보에 대해서는 당사자에게 불이익을 줄 가능성이 있을 경우 공개대상에서 제외할 수 있다.

부 칙

이 규정은 2007년 3월 1일부터 시행한다.

편집위원회 규정

제 1 장 총 칙

제1조 본 위원회는 비교문화연구소 편집위원회라 칭한다.

제2조 본 위원회는 비교문화연구소 내에 둔다.

제 2 장 구 성

제3조 편집위원회는 편집위원장, 편집이사 및 편집위원들로 구성된다.

제4조 편집위원장은 연구소 소장이 임명한다. 임기는 연구소 임원의 임기와 같다.

제5조 편집위원은 편집위원장이 연구실적이 우수한 학회 회원 중에서 추천하며 회장이 상임이사회의 인준을 받아 임명한다. 임기는 원칙적으로 학회 임원의 임기와 같으나, 업무의 연속성을 고려하여 일부 연임할 수 있다.

제6조 편집위원회의 국제성 제고와 학제 간 학술교류를 증진함으로써 외국 문화 및 비교문화 관련 제반 분야의 연구를 활성화하기 위해, 해외 저명 학자나 유관 학회의 전문가를 제 5조와 동일한 절차에 의해 편집위원에 임명할 수 있다.

제7조 편집위원 중에서 1인을 편집이사로 임명하며, 편집이사는 투고안내 및 논문의 접수 등 실무를 담당한다.

제3 장 활 동

제8조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 『비교문화연구』의 체제와 발간, 회수, 분량 등을 결정하고 논문의 투고, 심사 및 게재에 관한 기준과 규정을 정한다.

제9조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 투고 논문의 심사위원을 선정하여 심사를 의뢰하고, 그 심사결과를 토대로 게재여부를 정한다.

제10조 연구소가 학회학술지 이외에 학술 서적 등의 간행물을 발행하는 경우에는 편집위원회 산하에 간행위원회를 둔다.

제11조 간행위원은 편집위원장이 편집위원 중에서 일정 수를 추천하며 상임 이사회의 인준을 받아 연구소 소장이 임명한다. 간행위원장은 편집위원장이 겸한다.

제12조 논문의 투고, 심사 및 게재와 관련한 사항을 제외한 편집위원회의 제안 및 의결사항은 상임이사회의 의결을 거쳐 발효된다.

제4 장 회 의

제13조 편집위원회는 연구소 학술지 투고 논문의 심사 및 게재와 관련된 제반 사항의 심의를 위해 학술지 발행 시기에 맞춰 정기적으로 소집된다. 단, 연구소가 기타 학술관련 출판물을 발행할 경우에는 간행위원회를 필요에 따라 수시로 소집한다.

제14조 편집위원회는 편집위원장의 소집과 편집위원 과반수이상의 출석으로 이루어지며, 출석 위원 과반수이상의 찬성으로 의결한다.

제 5 장 논문 심사 및 게재

제15조 편집위원회는 투고 논문이 도착하는 즉시 논문에 투고 일자와 접수 번호를 명기하고 필자에게 접수를 확인해 준다. 단, 연구소의 논문 투고 요령 및 논문 작성양식에 따라 작성되지 않은 논문은 접수하지 않고 반송한다.

제16조 학술지 투고 논문의 심사위원 선정 및 심사과정은 비공개로 진행한다.

제17조 편집위원회는 각 투고 논문에 대해 3인의 심사위원을 위촉하는 것을 원칙으로 한다. 단, 편집위원이 논문을 제출한 경우에는 특별한 사정이 없는 한 해당 호의 심사위원으로 선정 될 수 없다.

제18조 편집위원회는 접수된 논문에 대해 심사의뢰서를 작성해, 심사용 논문을 심사서 양식과 함께 해당 심사 위원에게 전자우편으로 발송하며, 해당 심사위원은 심사결과를 지정된 기일 내에 편집위원장에게 전자우편으로 회신한다. 이 과정에서 심사의 공정성 유지를 위해 투고자 이름과 소속 및 논문에 대한 기타 정보가 알려지지 않도록 한다.

제19조 논문 심사 기준은 다음과 같이 정한다.

- 1) 연구주제의 독창성
- 2) 연구주제 전개과정의 논리성
- 3) 연구 방법의 타당성
- 4) 연구대상의 신뢰성(참고문헌, 주석, 인용, 번역)
- 5) 연구결과의 학문적 기여도

제20조 심사 결과는 세 명의 심사자의 점수 합이 (1) 240점 이상이면 게재 적합, (2) 210-239점이면 수정 후 게재 적합, (3) 180점-209점이면 수정 후 다음 호 재심사, (4) 179점 이하는 게재 부적합으로 나뉜다.

제21조 수정 요구사항이 있을 경우, 편집위원회는 심사평가서에 의거 투고자에게 수정 및 보완을 요구할 수 있다.

제22조 편집위원회는 투고자에게 심사결과를 전자우편으로 통보하며, 게재가 확정된 논문에 대해서는 수정된 논문의 최종 본을 제출하도록 요청한다.

제 6 장 학술지 발행 및 논문의 관리

제23조 학술지는 1년에 4회 발행하며, 발행일은 3월30일, 6월 30일, 9월 30일, 12월30일로 한다.

제24조 ‘게재가’로 결정되거나 게재된 후에라도 타 학술지에 게재된 적이 있는 논문이거나 무단 도용한 논문이라는 사실이 밝혀질 경우에는 편집위원회의 의결에 따라 게재를 취소하고 향후 3년간 논문 제출을 제한한다.

제25조 게재 예정 증명서는 편집위원회가 게재를 확정된 논문에 한해 발급한다.

제26조 투고된 논문은 게재여부와 상관없이 반환하지 않으며, 게재논문에 대한 저작권은 연구소에 귀속된다. 따라서 게재 논문 전체 혹은 부분을 재 수록할 경우에는 사전에 연구소의 동의를 얻어야 한다.

부 칙

제1조 위 규정은 2009년 9월 1일자로 발효된다.

6, 9, 12, 3, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 30, 33, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48, 51, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 69, 72, 75, 78, 81, 84, 87, 90, 93, 96, 99, 102, 105, 108, 111, 114, 117, 120, 123, 126, 129, 132, 135, 138, 141, 144, 147, 150, 153, 156, 159, 162, 165, 168, 171, 174, 177, 180, 183, 186, 189, 192, 195, 198, 201, 204, 207, 210, 213, 216, 219, 222, 225, 228, 231, 234, 237, 240, 243, 246, 249, 252, 255, 258, 261, 264, 267, 270, 273, 276, 279, 282, 285, 288, 291, 294, 297, 300, 303, 306, 309, 312, 315, 318, 321, 324, 327, 330, 333, 336, 339, 342, 345, 348, 351, 354, 357, 360, 363, 366, 369, 372, 375, 378, 381, 384, 387, 390, 393, 396, 399, 402, 405, 408, 411, 414, 417, 420, 423, 426, 429, 432, 435, 438, 441, 444, 447, 450, 453, 456, 459, 462, 465, 468, 471, 474, 477, 480, 483, 486, 489, 492, 495, 498, 501, 504, 507, 510, 513, 516, 519, 522, 525, 528, 531, 534, 537, 540, 543, 546, 549, 552, 555, 558, 561, 564, 567, 570, 573, 576, 579, 582, 585, 588, 591, 594, 597, 600, 603, 606, 609, 612, 615, 618, 621, 624, 627, 630, 633, 636, 639, 642, 645, 648, 651, 654, 657, 660, 663, 666, 669, 672, 675, 678, 681, 684, 687, 690, 693, 696, 699, 702, 705, 708, 711, 714, 717, 720, 723, 726, 729, 732, 735, 738, 741, 744, 747, 750, 753, 756, 759, 762, 765, 768, 771, 774, 777, 780, 783, 786, 789, 792, 795, 798, 801, 804, 807, 810, 813, 816, 819, 822, 825, 828, 831, 834, 837, 840, 843, 846, 849, 852, 855, 858, 861, 864, 867, 870, 873, 876, 879, 882, 885, 888, 891, 894, 897, 900, 903, 906, 909, 912, 915, 918, 921, 924, 927, 930, 933, 936, 939, 942, 945, 948, 951, 954, 957, 960, 963, 966, 969, 972, 975, 978, 981, 984, 987, 990, 993, 996, 999, 1002, 1005, 1008, 1011, 1014, 1017, 1020, 1023, 1026, 1029, 1032, 1035, 1038, 1041, 1044, 1047, 1050, 1053, 1056, 1059, 1062, 1065, 1068, 1071, 1074, 1077, 1080, 1083, 1086, 1089, 1092, 1095, 1098, 1101, 1104, 1107, 1110, 1113, 1116, 1119, 1122, 1125, 1128, 1131, 1134, 1137, 1140, 1143, 1146, 1149, 1152, 1155, 1158, 1161, 1164, 1167, 1170, 1173, 1176, 1179, 1182, 1185, 1188, 1191, 1194, 1197, 1200, 1203, 1206, 1209, 1212, 1215, 1218, 1221, 1224, 1227, 1230, 1233, 1236, 1239, 1242, 1245, 1248, 1251, 1254, 1257, 1260, 1263, 1266, 1269, 1272, 1275, 1278, 1281, 1284, 1287, 1290, 1293, 1296, 1299, 1302, 1305, 1308, 1311, 1314, 1317, 1320, 1323, 1326, 1329, 1332, 1335, 1338, 1341, 1344, 1347, 1350, 1353, 1356, 1359, 1362, 1365, 1368, 1371, 1374, 1377, 1380, 1383, 1386, 1389, 1392, 1395, 1398, 1401, 1404, 1407, 1410, 1413, 1416, 1419, 1422, 1425, 1428, 1431, 1434, 1437, 1440, 1443, 1446, 1449, 1452, 1455, 1458, 1461, 1464, 1467, 1470, 1473, 1476, 1479, 1482, 1485, 1488, 1491, 1494, 1497, 1500, 1503, 1506, 1509, 1512, 1515, 1518, 1521, 1524, 1527, 1530, 1533, 1536, 1539, 1542, 1545, 1548, 1551, 1554, 1557, 1560, 1563, 1566, 1569, 1572, 1575, 1578, 1581, 1584, 1587, 1590, 1593, 1596, 1599, 1602, 1605, 1608, 1611, 1614, 1617, 1620, 1623, 1626, 1629, 1632, 1635, 1638, 1641, 1644, 1647, 1650, 1653, 1656, 1659, 1662, 1665, 1668, 1671, 1674, 1677, 1680, 1683, 1686, 1689, 1692, 1695, 1698, 1701, 1704, 1707, 1710, 1713, 1716, 1719, 1722, 1725, 1728, 1731, 1734, 1737, 1740, 1743, 1746, 1749, 1752, 1755, 1758, 1761, 1764, 1767, 1770, 1773, 1776, 1779, 1782, 1785, 1788, 1791, 1794, 1797, 1800, 1803, 1806, 1809, 1812, 1815, 1818, 1821, 1824, 1827, 1830, 1833, 1836, 1839, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1851, 1854, 1857, 1860, 1863, 1866, 1869, 1872, 1875, 1878, 1881, 1884, 1887, 1890, 1893, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1905, 1908, 1911, 1914, 1917, 1920, 1923, 1926, 1929, 1932, 1935, 1938, 1941, 1944, 1947, 1950, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1986, 1989, 1992, 1995, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2010, 2013, 2016, 2019, 2022, 2025, 2028, 2031, 2034, 2037, 2040, 2043, 2046, 2049, 2052, 2055, 2058, 2061, 2064, 2067, 2070, 2073, 2076, 2079, 2082, 2085, 2088, 2091, 2094, 2097, 2100, 2103, 2106, 2109, 2112, 2115, 2118, 2121, 2124, 2127, 2130, 2133, 2136, 2139, 2142, 2145, 2148, 2151, 2154, 2157, 2160, 2163, 2166, 2169, 2172, 2175, 2178, 2181, 2184, 2187, 2190, 2193, 2196, 2199, 2202, 2205, 2208, 2211, 2214, 2217, 2220, 2223, 2226, 2229, 2232,

- 1) 분야 : 동서양의 문학 · 어학 · 언어교육 · 문화를 위시하여 인문학 전반의
비교연구 논문 및 학술번역이나 서평
- 2) 연구논문은 다른 학술지에 게재되지 아니한 논문을 원칙으로 한다.
- 3) 투고된 논문은 게재여부와 상관없이 반환하지 않으며, 게재논문에 대한
저작권은 연구소에 귀속된다.
- 4) 학술지는 1년에 4회 발행하며, 발행일은 3월30일, 6월 30일, 9월 30일,
12월30일로 한다. 원고 마감일은 각각 2월 10일, 5월 10일, 7월 10일,
11월 10일이다.
- 5) 논문은 한글(2005 이상)로 작성하여, 전자우편으로 투고한다.
 - 비교문화연구소(031-201-2215)
ccs1@khu.ac.kr (논문투고전용메일)
- 6) 원고 투고시 심사료 6만원을 납부하고, 게재 결정이 된 경우 게재료를
납부한다.
 - 게재료: 일반논문-비전임5만원, 전임10만원
연구지원 받은 논문-20만원

- 심사료/게재료 납부하실 곳: 하나은행 906-910026-34905 김종수

2. 논문 편집 원칙

1) 논문은 한글(2005 이상)로 작성한다. 논문은 한국어 또는 영어로 작성한다.

2) 글자모양 및 문단모양

(1) 본문 및 참고문헌

① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 10pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0

② 문단모양: 줄간격 160%, 들여쓰기 10pt

(2) 인용문

① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 9pt, 장평100%, 자간 0

② 문단모양: 줄간격 150%, 들여쓰기 10pt, 왼쪽여백 20pt, 오른쪽여백 20pt

(3) 각주

① 글자모양: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 9pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0

② 문단모양: 줄간격 130%

(4) 영문초록 (참고문헌 뒤에 위치. 초록 끝에 한국어와 영어로 5개의 주제어를 수록)

① 글자모양: 글꼴 Times New Roman, 크기 9pt, 장평 100%, 자간 0

② 문단모양: 줄간격 150%, 들여쓰기 10pt, 왼쪽여백 20pt, 오른쪽여백 20pt

(5) 제목

① 논문제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 16pt, 진하게, 중앙정렬

② 대체목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 12pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬

- ③ 중제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 11pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬
- ④ 소제목: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 10pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬
- ⑤ 참고문헌: 글꼴 바탕, 크기 11pt, 진하게, 왼쪽정렬

3) 부호

- 한국어로 인쇄된 저서(단행본, 학위논문, 잡지, 논문집 등)는 『~~~』로 표시한다.
- 한국어 논문집 또는 작품집 안에 실린 개별논문이나 개별작품은 「~~~」로 표시한다.
- 외국어로 인쇄된 저서(단행본, 잡지, 논문집 등)는 이탤릭체로 표시한다.
- 외국어로 인쇄된 논문은 “~~~”로 표시한다.
- 한국어와 외국어를 병기할 경우 한글 french로 표시한다.

4) 참고문헌은 국문, 외국어 순으로 배열하고, 저자(성은 대문자, 이름은 소문자), 논문, 서적명, 역자명, 출판장소, 출판사, 발행연도 순으로 작성한다.

예) 레이먼 셸던, 『현대문학이론』, 문학과지성사, 1991.

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Gordon Slethaug (University of Southern Denmark, Denmark)
Man Yin Chiu (University of Macau, Macau)
Naoko Shibusawa (Brown University, USA)
Xiaoxiang Chen (Hunan University, China)
Gilles Dupuis (Montreal University, Canada)
Mank Peterson (Brigham Young University, USA)

Cross-Cultural Studies

比較文化研究所

446-701 경기도 용인시 기흥구 서천동 1번지 경희대학교 외국어대학관 524호

☎: 031-201-2215 Fax: 031-205-2217 khwe2215@khu.ac.kr

【연구소장】 윤재학 ☎031-201-2254(研) 010-2970-2254(M.P) jyoons@khu.ac.kr

【편집위원장】 박동호 ☎031-201-2260(研) 010-2250-7984(M.P) pakdh@khu.ac.kr



안녕하십니까!

비교문화연구소의 학술지 『비교문화연구』 제33호의 원고를 다음과 같이 모집합니다. 투고의향이 있으신 분들에게서는 아래 내용을 살펴보고 옥고를 보내주시기 바랍니다. 『비교문화연구』는 한국연구재단 등재지로서 매년 3월, 6월, 9월(영문국제판), 12월 4회 발간하고 있습니다.

1. 발간예정일: 2013년 12월 30일

2. 원고마감일 (33호): 2013년 11월 10일(일)

3. 원고모집분야

- (1) 『비교문화연구』의 원고는 동서양의 문학·어학·언어교육·문화를 위시하여 인문학 전반의 비교연구를 지향하는 학술지입니다.
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- 편집이사 : 김종수 (031-201-2259)

smallis@khu.ac.kr

- 편집간사 : 강수진 (031-201-2215)

ccs1@khu.ac.kr (모든 원고는 이 메일로 보내주십시오)

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2013년 9월 30일 발행

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